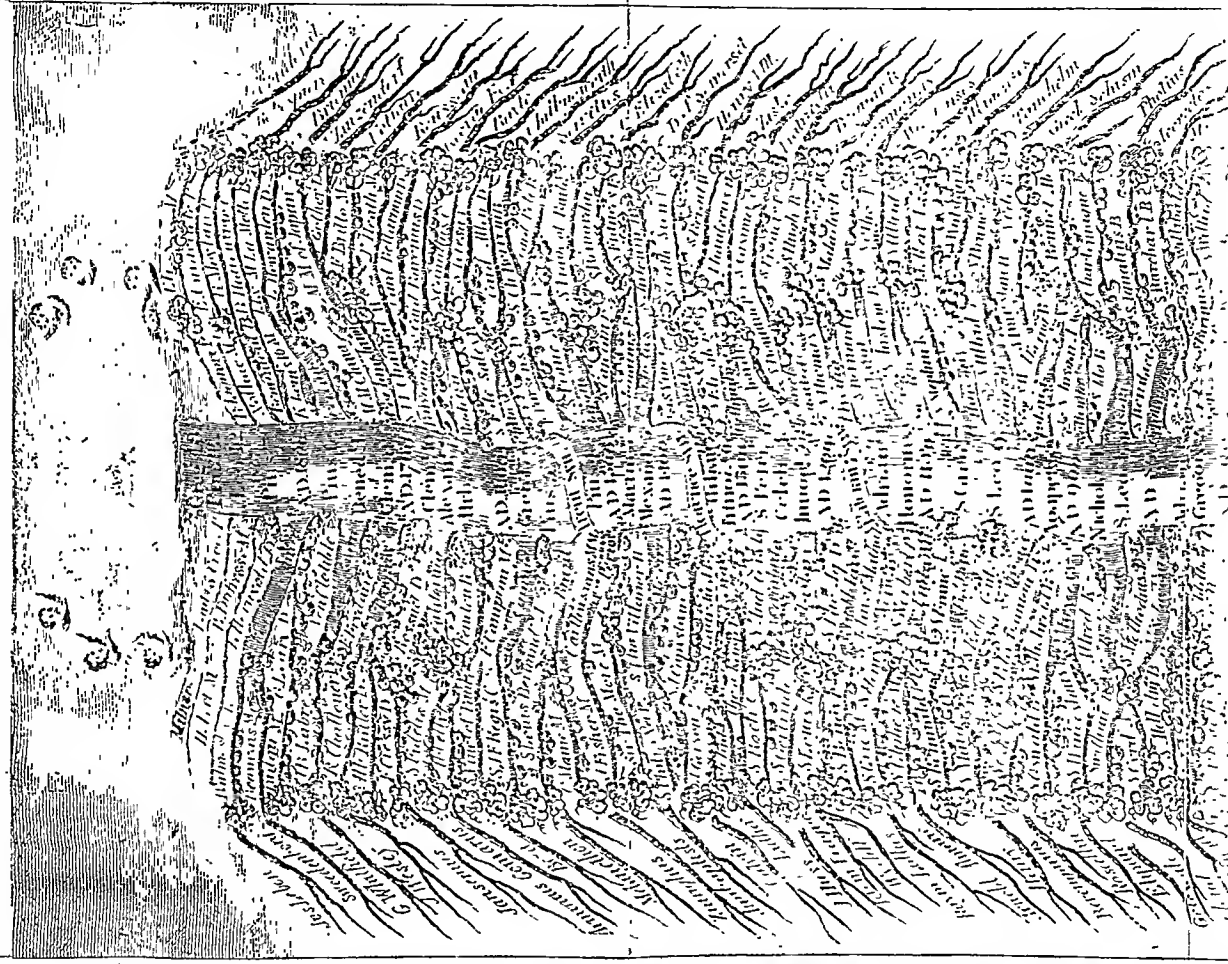


Shewing the uninterrupted succession of the Catholic Church from the Apostles of Jesus Christ down to the present time, likewise the chief Heretics and Schismatics who have in different Ages been cut off from her Communion



THE EDITOR TO THE READER.



IN this work, entitled "The End of Religious Controversy," the author and his correspondents having established the certainty of divine revelation and the truth of the Christian religion, he proposes the means, by which, among the various discordant creeds of those who profess Christianity, the *true faith* which Jesus Christ brought down from heaven, and the *true church* which he established on earth, may be discovered. He undertakes to prove that we are provided with the certain *means* of making this discovery, and that Christ himself has left us a *Rule of Faith*, adapted to the *capacities of all*, by which we may come to the knowledge of *true religion*.

Before he attempts to shew what this rule is, he notices certain methods, which have been adopted as rules of faith, and proves them to be insufficient and fallacious. *Private inspiration*, he maintains, cannot be a *rule of faith*, because private inspiration is in itself a *questionable* pretension; may be claimed by one as well as by another, and all alike; and has, in fact, been claimed and acted upon by *different* sectaries, in support of *different* and *contradictory* tenets; at the same time that it has, in many instances, led the pretenders to it into the greatest *absurdities* and most shocking *impieties*. Another rule of faith, the rule adopted by the reformed churches in general, is the *scripture* or the *written word* of God, left to the *interpretation of each individual*: for as no *supreme, unerring* authority is acknowledged by Protestants to determine the *sense* and *meaning* of scripture, or to decide and announce what articles of faith are necessary for salvation, individual judgment is made the guide to individuals, the necessity of preachers is done away, and the commission of Jesus Christ to his Apostles, "Go, *teach* all nations," is annulled. Where there is no *obligation to hear* and " ", there can be no *authority to teach* and *instruct*.

The Church, as an infallible teacher, is discarded, but its powers are transferred to each individual person; each person possesses *infallibility* in himself, each person is himself a church, accordingly as he may please to form his creed; and every possible contradictory opinion is *equally* defensible, as resting upon the interpretation of scripture, adopted by the person who maintains it. This rule, like private inspiration, is shewn to be fallacious; since, like the former, it has led, as it is calculated to lead, to *opposite conclusions* on numberless points of faith: and since there is no acknowledged *judge* on earth to *decide*, it necessarily follows that either contradictory doctrines are *favoured* by the sacred volume, and revealed, as *equally true*, by the God from whom that sacred volume came, or else that it was intended by the God of *Peace*, as an *apple of discord*, and *meant* by the God of *Truth* for the propagation of *falsehood*. But as such intentions can never be imputed to the Deity, nor can it be imagined that our Redeemer established a Church to succeed to the Jewish dispensation, and to last *till the end of the world*, so vague and indeterminate in its creed, so uncertain as to its form or even existence, in one place professing, on the authority of God's infallible word, articles and doctrines which, in another place, it anathematizes and disclaims on the same unerring authority,—the author maintains that the scripture *alone* does not furnish this *certain* and *attainable* Rule adapted to the capacities and situations of mankind at large.

Still he maintains that a *Rule* does exist, and ever has existed since the time of Christ, by which the *faith of his disciples is secured from error*, and *his true religion*, with all its *doctrines and articles of belief* proclaimed to them with equal certainty, by means of his *protecting Spirit*, his promised *Paraclete*, as if He were visibly *seen* by them, and were *heard* by them speaking in his own person, as when he conversed with his disciples upon earth. This rule, he contends, is *the word of God, written and unwritten*, as it is interpreted and explained by his appointed oracle, HIS CHURCH, which he has *authorized and commissioned to teach all nations* while he has *commanded all mankind to hear his Church*. This *rule of faith*, subject to the interpretation of an *infallible expositor*, inspired by *himself*, and guided by *his Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth*, must *necessarily* communicate his revelations, must *infallibly* teach *his truth*, the *whole truth*, and the *truth alone*. This rule, thus unerringly explained by the *Light of Light*, inevitably implies teachers

instituted by JESUS CHRIST himself, and a succession of teachers kept up by Him, and inspired by Him. It secures their followers from the danger of error, in adopting their own conjectures, and the teachers it preserves from the spirit of innovation and imposture, from all the attempts of ambitious or interested dogmatizers. He then proceeds to shew, that the Church dispersed throughout the world and in communion with the see of Rome (commonly called the CATHOLIC Church) alone adopts and follows this infallible rule; and he produces numberless arguments to prove that, whereas Christians have, in every age since that of the apostles, professed their belief of *One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church,—the Church in communion with the see of Rome.* and presided over by *the successor of St. Peter in that see,* exclusively exhibits these four essential marks of the Church of Christ, viz. UNITY, in *doctrine, liturgy, government, and constitution*; SANCTITY, in *doctrine, in the means of holiness, and the fruits of holiness*; CATHOLICITY, or *universality*, in its *extent*, as to *time and place*, no less than its *name*, which it has borne from time immemorial; and, finally, APOSTOLICITY, in its *descent*, and regular *succession of ministers*, from the time of the apostles, as well as in its *sacraments and sacred institutions.* He then proceeds to shew, that these marks are deficient to every Christian society, except that *which is in communion with the see of Rome*, and which exclusively enjoys, as it ever has enjoyed, the distinctive appellation of the *Catholic Church.*

Here, strictly speaking, his work is at an end and *controversy* concluded. For the infallible superintendence and inspiration of Jesus Christ promised and preserved, and the marks, by which *his Church* may be distinguished from every other society or congregation, being ascertained and applied, it follows of consequence (without *particular* proof with regard to each *particular* article), that *every doctrine of a Church so guarded and protected,* must be the doctrine of *Jesus Christ himself*, and the Church *secure from error.* However, for the sake of *candid and sincere* inquirers, the author condescends to *particular* examination; brings forward the principal *charges* that are usually made against the Roman Catholic Church, and proves them to be either the involuntary errors of mistaken *ignorance*, or the unfair means resorted to by *misrepresentation*, with the view to blacken and disfigure the *spouse of Christ.* He draws aside the mask, which malice had held up as her genuine countenance, and displays her form and features in all their native beauty

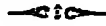
and loveliness. For further satisfaction, he explains and justifies those particular doctrinal points, which are excepted against by the separatists from the Church of Rome.

Such are the nature and character of the work now presented to the public; such is the object of the pre-eminent writer; which if he have attained, he has without question put an *End to Religious Controversy*, and fully justified the title given to his matchless performance. Let the reader judge.

In this edition we have introduced nineteen letters selected from the Author's Vindication of his arguments and facts against the exceptions made by the Rev. Richard Grier, A. M. vicar of Templebodane, in Ireland, which embrace a vast deal of important matter on the disputed doctrines of the Church, and may be said to leave nothing untouched that can be brought against her divine faith.

London, October 18, 1836.

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THE
END OF CONTROVERSY.

PART FIRST.

ON THE RULE OF FAITH,
OR
THE METHOD OF FINDING OUT THE TRUE
RELIGION.

PART I.

ON THE RULE OF FAITH; OR, THE METHOD OF FINDING OUT THE TRUE RELIGION.

"When a man desires to be informed of which Christian Church or Congregation he is to be a member, he ought to consider and see upon what grounds every Christian Church or Congregation proceeds, and upon what grounds they build the security they give to their followers."

Guther's Sincere Christian's Guide.

"When a traveller comes to a place very difficult and dangerous to pass, as over sands, rocks, or deserts, does he not act according to reason, when he takes the best guide and follows him through the dangers of the passage? And when a passenger sails to the Indies, does he not make the best use of his reason, when he permits a skilful pilot to steer and work the ship as he deems best?"—*Ibid*

INTRODUCTION.

LETTER I.

FROM JAMES BROWN, Esq. to JOHN MILNER, D.D. F.S.A.

REVEREND SIR,

*New Cottage, near Cressage, Salop,
October 13, 1801.*

I SHOULD need an ample apology for the liberty I take in thus addressing you, without having the honour of your acquaintance, and still more for the heavy task I am endeavouring to impose upon you, if I did not consider your public character, as a pastor of your religion, and as a writer in defence of it, and likewise your personal character for benevolence, which has been described to me by a gentleman of your communion, Mr. J. C—ne, who is well acquainted with us both. Having mentioned this, I need only add, that I write to you in the name of a society of serious and worthy Christians of different persuasions, to which society I myself belong, who are as desirous as I am to receive satisfaction from you, on certain doubts which your late work, in answer to Dr. Sturges, has suggested to us. (1)

However, in making this request of our society to you, it seems proper, reverend sir, that I should bring you acquainted

(1) *Letters to a Prebendary, in Answer to Reflections on Popery, by the Rev. Dr. Sturges, Prebendary and Chancellor of Winchester.*

END OF CON.

with the nature of it, by way of convincing you, that it is not unworthy of the attention which I am desirous you should pay to it. We consist, then, of about twenty persons, including the ladies, who (living at some distance from any considerable town) meet together once a week, generally at my habitation of New Cottage, not so much for our amusement and refection as for the improvement of our minds, by reading the best publications of the day that I can procure from my London booksellers, and sometimes an original essay written by one of the company.

I have signified that many of us are of different religious persuasions: this will be seen more distinctly from the following account of our members. Among these I must mention, in the first place, our learned and worthy rector, Dr. Carey. He is, of course, of the church of England; but, like most others of his learned and dignified brethren in these times, he is of that free, and, as it is called, liberal turn of mind, as to explain away the mysteries and a great many of its other articles, which, in my younger days, were considered essential to it. Mr. and Mrs. Topham are Methodists of the Predestinarian and Antinomian class, while Mr. and Mrs. Askew are mitigated Arminian Methodists of Wesley's connexion. Mr. and Mrs. Rankin are honest Quakers. Mr. Baker and his children term themselves *Rational Dissenters*, being of the old Presbyterian lineage, which is now almost universally gone into Socinianism. I, for my part, glory in being a stanch member of our happy establishment, which has kept the golden mean among the contending sects, and which I am fully persuaded approaches nearer to the purity of the apostolic church, than any other which has existed since the age of it. Mrs. Brown professes an equal attachment to the church; yet, being of an inquisitive and ardent mind, she cannot refrain from frequenting the meetings, and even supporting the missions, of those self-created apostles, who are undermining this church on every side, and who are nowhere more active than in our sequestered valley.

With these differences among us, on the most interesting of all subjects, we cannot help having frequent religious controversies; but reason and charity enable us to manage these without any breach of either good manners or good will to each other. Indeed, I believe that we are, one and all, possessed of an unfeigned respect and cordial love for Christians of every description, one only excepted. Must I name it on the present occasion? Yes, I must, in order to fulfill my commission in a proper manner. It is then the church that you

reverend sir, belong to; which, if any credit is due to the eminent divines, whose works we are in the habit of reading, and more particularly to the illustrious bishop Porteus, in his celebrated and standing work, called **A BRIEF CONFUTATION OF THE ERRORS OF THE CHURCH OF ROME**, *extracted from Archbishop Secker's FIVE SERMONS AGAINST POPERY*, (1) is such a mass of absurdity, bigotry, superstition, idolatry, and immorality, that to say we respect and love those who obstinately adhere to it as we do other Christians, would seem a compromise of reason, scripture, and virtuous feeling.

And yet even of this church we have formed a less revolting idea in some particulars than we did formerly. This has happened from our having just read over your controversial work against Dr. Sturges, called **LETTERS TO A PREBENDARY**; to which our attention was directed by the notice taken of it in the houses of parliament, and particularly by the very unexpected compliment paid to it by that ornament of our church, bishop Horsley. We admit then (at least I, for my part admit), that you have refuted the most odious of the charges brought against your religion, namely, that it is necessarily and upon principle intolerant and sanguinary, requiring its members to persecute with fire and sword all persons of a different creed from their own, when this is in their power. You have also proved, that Papists may be good subjects to a Protestant sovereign; and you have shewn, by an interesting historical detail, that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom have been conspicuous for their loyalty, from the time of Elizabeth down to the present period. Still most of the absurd and anti-scriptural doctrines and practices alluded to above, relating to the worship of saints and images, to transubstantiation and the half communion, to purgatory and shutting up the bible, with others of the same nature, you have not, to my recollection, so much as attempted to defend. In a word, reverend sir, I write to you on the present occasion in the name of our respectable society, to ask you whether you fairly give up these doctrines and practices of Popery as untenable; or otherwise, whether you will condescend to interchange a few letters with me on the subject of them, for the satisfaction of me and my friends and

(1) The Norisian Professor of Divinity in the university of Cambridge, speaking of this work, says: "The refutation of the Popish errors is now reduced into a small compass by archbishop Secker and bishop Porteus."—*Lectures in Divinity*, vol. iv. p. 71.

with the sole view of mutually discovering and communicating religious truths. We remark that you say in your first letter to Dr. Sturges. "Should I have occasion to make another reply to you. I will try if it be not possible to put the whole question at issue between us into such a shape, as shall remove the danger of irritation on both sides, and still enable us, if we are mutually so disposed, to agree together in the acknowledgment of the same religious truths." If you still think that this is possible, for God's sake and your neighbours' also, delay not to undertake it. The plan embraces every advantage we wish for, and excludes every evil we deprecate. You shall manage the discussion in your own way, and we will give you as little interruption as possible. Two of the essays above alluded to, with which our worthy rector lately furnished us, with your permission I enclose, to convince you that genius and sacred literature are cultivated around the Wrekin, and on the banks of the Severn. I remain, reverend sir, with great respect, your faithful and obedient servant,

JAMES BROWN.

ESSAY I.

ON THE EXISTENCE OF GOD. AND OF NATURAL RELIGION.

By the Rev. SAMUEL CAREY, LL. D.

FORSEEING that my health will not permit me, for a considerable time, to meet my expected friends at New Cottage, I comply with the request which several of them have made me, in sending them in writing my ideas on the two noblest subjects which can occupy the mind of man: *The Existence of God, and the Truth of Christianity*. In doing this, I profess not to make new discoveries, but barely to state certain arguments which I collected in my youth from the learned Hugo Grotius, our own judicious Clark, and other advocates of natural and revealed religion. I offer no apology for adopting the words of scripture, in arguing with persons who are supposed not to admit its authority, when these express my meaning as fully as any others can do.

The first argument for the existence of God is thus expressed by the royal prophet: *Know ye that the Lord he is God; it is he that made us, and not we ourselves.* Ps. c. iii. in fact, when I ask myself that question, which every reflecting man must sometimes ask himself *How came I into the*

state of existence? Who has bestowed upon me the being which I enjoy? I am forced to answer: *it is not I that made myself*; and each of my forefathers, if asked the same question, must have returned the same answer. In like manner, if I interrogate the several beings with which I am surrounded, the earth, the air, the water, the stars, the moon, the sun, each of them, as an ancient father says, will answer me in its turn: *It was not I that made you; I, like you, am a creature of yesterday, as incapable of giving existence to you as I am of giving it to myself.* In short, however often each of us repeats the questions: *How came I hither? Who has made me what I am?* we shall never find a rational answer to them, till we come to acknowledge that there is an *eternal, necessary, self-existent Being*, the author of all contingent beings, which is no other than GOD. It is this *necessity of being*, this *self-existence*, which constitute the nature of God, and from which all his other perfections flow. Hence, when he deigned to reveal himself, on the flaming mountain of Horeb, to the holy legislator of his chosen people, being asked by this prophet what was his *proper name?* he answered, *I AM THAT I AM.* *Exod. iii. 14.* This is as much as to say, *I alone exist of myself: all others are created beings, which exist by my will.*

From this attribute of *self-existence*, all the other perfections of the Deity, *eternity, immensity, omnipotence, omniscience, holiness, justice, mercy, and bounty*, each in an infinite degree necessarily flow; because there is nothing to limit his existence and attributes, and because whatever perfection is found in any created being, must, like its existence, have been derived from this universal source.

This proof of the existence of God, though demonstrative and self-evident to reflecting beings, is, nevertheless, we have reason to fear, lost on a great proportion of our fellow-creatures; because they hardly reflect at all, or at least never consider, *who made them, or what they were made for.* But that other proof, which results from the magnificence, the beauty, and the harmony of the creation, as it falls under the senses, so it cannot be thought to escape the attention of the most stupid or savage of rational beings. The starry heavens, the fulminating clouds, the boundless ocean, the variegated earth, the organized human body, all these and many other phenomena of nature, must strike the mind of the untutored savage, no less than that of the studious philosopher, with a conviction that there is an infinitely powerful, wise, and bountiful Being, who is the author of these things; though, doubtless, the latter, in proportion as he sees more

clearly and extensively than the former the properties and economy of different parts of the creation, possesses a stronger *physical* evidence, as it is called, of the existence of the great Creator. In fact, if the Pagan physician Galen, (1) from the imperfect knowledge which he possessed of the structure of the human body, found himself compelled to acknowledge the existence of an infinitely-wise and beneficent Being, to make the body such as it is, what would he not have said, had he been acquainted with the circulation of the blood, and the uses and harmony of the arteries, veins, and lacteals? If the philosophical orator Tully discovered and enlarged on the same truth, from the little knowledge of astronomy which he possessed, (2) what strains of eloquence would he not have poured forth upon it, had he been acquainted with the discoveries of Galileo and Newton, relative to the magnitude and distances of the stars, and the motions of the planets and the comets? Yes, all nature proclaims that there is a Being, who *is wise in heart and mighty in strength:—who doeth great things and past finding out; yea, wonders without number: who stretcheth out the north over the empty places, and hangeth the earth upon nothing. The pillars of heaven tremble and are astonished at his reproof. Lo! these are a part of his ways; but how little a portion is heard of him! The thunder of his power who can understand?* Job, ix. xxvi.

The proofs however of God's existence, which can least be evaded, are those which come immediately home to a man's own heart; convincing him with the same evidence which he has of his own existence, that there is an all-seeing, infinitely-just, and infinitely-bountiful Master above, who is witness of all his actions and words, and of his very thoughts. For whence arises the heartfelt pleasure which the good man feels on resisting a secret temptation to sin, or in performing an act of beneficence, though in the utmost secrecy? Why does he raise his countenance to heaven with devotion, and why is he prepared to meet death with cheerful hope, unless it be that his conscience tells him of a munificent rewarder of virtue, the spectator of what he does? And why does the most hardened sinner tremble and falter in his limbs and at his heart, when he commits his most secret sins of theft, vengeance, or impurity? Why, especially, does he sink into agonies of horror and despair at the approach of death, unless it be that he is deeply convinced of the constant presence of an all-seeing Witness, and of an infinitely holy, powerful and just Judge

(1) De Usu Partium.

(2) De Natura Deorum, l. ii.

into whose hands it is a terrible thing to fall! In vain does he say: Darkness encompasseth me and the walls cover me. no one seeth me: of whom am I afraid?—for his conscience tells him, that the eyes of the Lord are far brighter than the sun, beholding round about all the ways of men. Eccles. xxiii. 26, 28.

This last argument, in particular, is so obvious and convincing, that I cannot bring myself to believe there ever was a human being of sound sense who was really an Atheist. Those persons who have tried to work themselves into a persuasion that there is no God, will generally be found, both in ancient and modern times, to be of the most profligate manners, who dreading to meet him as their judge, try to persuade themselves that he does not exist. This has been observed by St. Augustin, who says: "No man denies the existence of God, but such an one whose interest it is that there should be no God." Yet even they who, in the broad day-light, and among their profligate companions, pretend to disbelieve the existence of a supreme Being, in the darkness of the night, and still more under the apprehension of death, fail not to confess it, as Seneca, I think, has somewhere observed. (1)

A son heareth his father, and a servant his master, says the prophet Malachy. If then I be a father, where is mine honour? and if I be a master, where is my fear? saith the Lord of Hosts, i. 6. In a word, it is impossible to believe the existence of a supreme Being, our Creator, our Lord and our Judge, without being conscious at the same time of our obligation to worship him interiorly and exteriorly, to fear him, to love him, and to obey him. This constitutes *natural religion*; by the observance of which the ancient patriarchs, together with Melchisedec, Job, and we trust very many other virtuous and religious persons of different ages and countries, have been acceptable to God in this life, and have attained to everlasting bliss in the other: still we must confess, with deep sorrow, that the number of such persons has been small, compared with those of every age and nation, who, as St. Paul says, *When they knew God, glorified him not as God; neither were they thankful, but became vain in their imaginations; and*

(1) It is proper here to observe, that a large proportion of the boasting Atheists who signalized themselves by their impiety, during the French Revolution, or a few years previous to its eruption, acknowledged, when they came to die, that their irreligion had been affected, and that they never doubted in their hearts of the existence of God and the truths of Christianity. Among those were the marquis d'Argens, Boulanger, La Merrie, Cellot d'Herbois, Egalite duke of Orleans, &c.

their foolish hearts were darkened; they changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore. Rom. i. 21. 25.

SAMUEL CAREY.

ESSAY II.

ON THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

By the Rev. SAMUEL CAREY, LL. D.

THOUGH the light of nature is abundantly sufficient, as I trust I have shewn in my former essay, to prove the existence of God, and the duty of worshipping and serving him, yet this was not the only light that was communicated to mankind in the first ages of the world concerning these matters, since many things relating to them were revealed by God to the patriarchs, and through them to their contemporaries and descendants. At length, however, this knowledge was almost universally obliterated from the minds of men, and the light of reason itself was so clouded by the boundless indulgence of their passions, that they seemed everywhere sunk almost to a level with the brute creation. Even the most polished nations, the Greeks and the Romans, blushed not at unnatural lusts, and boasted of the most horrid cruelties. Plutarch describes the celebrated Grecian sages, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Cebes, &c. as indulging freely in the former, (1) and every one knows that the chief amusement of the Roman people, was to behold their fellow-creatures murdering one another in the amphitheatres, sometimes by hundreds and thousands at a time. But the depravity and impiety of the ancient Pagans, and I may say the same of those of modern times, appear chiefly in their religious doctrines and worship. What an absurd and disgusting rabble of pretended deities, marked with every crime that disgraces the worst of mortals, lust, envy, hatred, and cruelty, did not the abovenamed refined nations worship; and that in several instances by the imitation of their crimes! Plato allows of drunkenness in honour of the gods; Aristotle admits of indecent representations of them. How many temples were everywhere erected, and prostitutes consecrated to the worship of Venus? (2) And how generally were human

(1) De Isid. et Osirid. Even the refined Cicero and Virgil did not blush at these infamies.

(2) Strabo tells us that there were 1000 prostitutes attached to the

sacrifices offered up in honour of Moloch, Saturn, Thor, Diana, Woden, and other pretended gods or rather real demons. by almost every Pagan nation, Greek and barbarian, and among the rest by the ancient Britons, inhabitants of this island! It is true, some few sages of antiquity, by listening to the dictates of nature and reason, saw into the absurdity of the popular religion, and discovered the existence and attributes of the true God; but then how unsteady and imperfect was their belief, even in this point? and when *they knew God, they did not glorify him as God, nor give him thanks, but became vain in their thoughts.* Rom. i. 21. In short, they were so bewildered on the whole subject of religion, that Socrates, the wisest of them all, declared it "impossible for men to discover this, unless the Deity himself deigned to reveal it to them." (1) Indeed it was an effort of mercy, worthy the great and good God, to make such a revelation of himself and of his acceptable worship to poor benighted and degraded man. This he did, first, in favour of a poor, afflicted, captive tribe on the banks of the Nile, the Israelites, whom he led from thence into the country of their ancestors, and raised up to be a powerful nation, by a series of astonishing miracles; instructing and confirming them in the knowledge and worship of himself by his different prophets. He afterwards did the same thing in favour of all the people of the earth, and to a far greater extent, by the promised Messiah and his apostles. It is to this latter divine legislation I shall here confine my arguments, though indeed the one confirms the other; since Christ and the apostles continually bear testimony to the mission of Moses.

All history then and tradition prove, that in the reign of Tiberius, the second Roman emperor or after Julius Cæsar, an extraordinary personage, Jesus Christ, appeared in Palestine teaching a new system of religion and morality, far more sublime and perfect than any which the Pagan philosophers or even the Hebrew prophets, had inculcated. He confirmed the truths of natural religion and of the Mosaic revelation but then he vastly extended their sphere, by the communication of many heavenly mysteries concerning the nature of the one true God, his economy in redeeming man by his own vicarious sufferings, the restoration and future immortality of our bodies, and the final decisive trial we are to undergo before him our destined Judge. He enforced the obligation

temple of Venus at Corinth. The Athenians attributed the preservation of their city to the prayers of its prostitutes.

(1) Plato Dialog. Alcibiad.

of loving our heavenly Father above all things, of praying to him continually, and of referring all our thoughts, words and actions to his divine honour. He insisted on the necessity of denying, not one or other of our passions, as the philosophers had done, who, Tertullian says, *drove out one nail with another*, but the whole collection of them, disorderly and vitiated as they are, since the fall of our first parents. In opposition to our innate avarice, pride, and love of pleasure, he opened his mission by teaching that, *Blessed are the poor in spirit; Blessed are the meek; Blessed are they that mourn*, &c. Teaching, as he did, with respect to our fellow-creatures, every virtue, he singled out fraternal charity for his peculiar and characteristic precept; requiring that his disciples should love one another as they love themselves, and even as he himself has loved them; he who laid down his life for them! and he extended the obligation of this precept to our enemies, equally with our friends.

Nor was the morality of Jesus a mere speculative system of precepts, like the systems of the philosophers; it was of a practical nature, and he himself confirmed, by his example, every virtue which he inculcated, and more particularly that hardest of all others to reduce to practice, the love of our enemies. Christ had *gone about*, as the sacred text expresses it, *doing good to all*, Acts, x. 38, and evil to no one. He had cured the sick of Judea and the neighbouring countries, had given sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, and even life to the dead; but, above all things, he had enlightened the mind of his hearers with the knowledge of pure and sublime truth... capable of leading them to present and future happiness: yet was he everywhere calumniated and persecuted, till at length his inveterate enemies fulfilled their malice against him, by nailing him to a cross, thereon to expire by lengthened torments. Not content with this, they came before his gibbet, deriding him in his agony with insulting words and gestures! And what is the return which the Author of Christianity makes for such unexampled barbarity? He excuses the perpetrators of it! He prays for them! *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do!* Luke, xxiii. 34. No wonder this proof of supernatural charity should have staggered the most hardened infidels; one of whom confesses that, "if Socrates has died like a philosopher, Jesus alone has died like a God!" (1) The precepts and the example of the Master have not been lost upon his disciples. These have

(1) Rousseau Emile.

ever been distinguished by their practice of virtue, and particularly by their charity and forgiveness of injuries. The first of them who laid down his life for Christ, St. Stephen, while the Jews were stoning him to death, prayed thus with his last voice; *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge!* Acts, vii. 59.

Having considered the several systems of Paganism, which have prevailed, and that still prevail, in different parts of the world, both as to belief and practice, together with the speculations of the wisest infidel philosophers concerning them, and having contemplated, on the other hand, the doctrine of the new testament both as to theory and practice, I would ask any candid unbeliever, where he thought Jesus Christ could have acquired the idea of so sublime, so pure, so efficacious a religion as Christianity is, especially when compared with the others above alluded to? Could he have acquired it in the workshop of a poor artizan of Nazareth, or among the fishermen of the lake of Genesareth? Then, how could he and his poor unlettered apostles succeed in propagating this religion, as they did throughout the world, in opposition to all the talents and power of philosophers and princes, and all the passions of all mankind? No other answers can be given to these questions, than that the religion itself has been *divinely revealed*, and that it has been *divinely assisted* in its progress throughout the world.

In addition to this *internal evidence* of Christianity as it is called, there are *external proofs* which must not be passed over. Christ, on various occasions, appealed to the miracles which he wrought, in confirmation of his doctrine and mission; miracles public and indisputable, which, from the testimony of Pilate himself, were placed on the records of the Roman empire, (1) and which were not denied by the most determined enemies of Christianity, such as Celsus, Porphyrius, and Julian the apostate. Among these miracles, there is one of so extraordinary a nature, as to render it quite unnecessary to mention any others, and which is therefore always appealed to by the apostles, as the grand proof of the gospel they preached: I mean the *Resurrection of Christ from the dead*. To the fact itself must be added also its circumstances; namely, that he raised himself to life *by his own power*, without the intervention of any living person; and that he did this *in conformity with his prediction at the same time which he had appointed* for this event, and in *defiance of the efforts of his enemies* to detain his body in the sepulchre. To elude the evidence re-

(1) Tertul. in Apolog.

sulting from this unexampled prodigy, one or other of the following assertions must be maintained; either that the *disciples were deceived* in believing him to be risen from the dead, or that *they combined to deceive the world* into a belief of this imposition. Now it cannot be credited that they themselves were deceived in this matter, being many in number, and having the testimony of their eyes, in seeing their Master repeatedly during forty days; of their ears in hearing his voice; and one, the most incredulous among them, the testimony of *his feeling, in touching his person and probing his wounds*. Nor can it be believed that they *conspired to propagate an unvarnished falsehood* of this nature throughout the nations of the earth; namely, that a person put to death in Judea had risen again to life; and this too without any prospect to themselves *for this world* but that of persecution, torments, and a cruel death, which they successively endured, as did their numerous disciples after them, in testimony of this fact; and without any prospect *for the other world* but the vengeance of the God of truth.

Next to the miracles wrought by Christ, is the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies concerning him, in proof of the religion which he taught. To mention a few of these: He was born *just after the sceptre had departed from the tribe of Judah*, Gen. xlix. 10; at the *end of seventy weeks* of years from the restoration of Jerusalem, Dan. ix. 24; while the *second temple* of Jerusalem was *in being*, Hagg. ii. 7. He was born in *Bethlehem*, Mic. v. 2; worked the identical *miracles foretold* of him, Isai. xxxv. 5. He was *sold* by his perfidious disciple for *thirty pieces of silver*, which were laid out in the *purchase of a potter's field*, Zach. xi. 13. He was *scourged, spit upon*, Isai. l. 6; placed among *malefactors*, Ibid. xxxiii. 12. His *hands and feet were transfixed* with nails, Ps. xxii. 16; and his *side was opened* with a spear, Zach. xli. 10. Finally, he *died, was buried with honour*, Isai. liii. 9, and *rose again to life without experiencing corruption*, Ps. xvi. 10. The sworn enemies of Christ, the Jews, were, during many hundred years before his coming, and still are, in possession of the scriptures containing these and many other predictions concerning him, which were strictly fulfilled.

The very existence and other circumstances respecting this extraordinary people, the Jews, are so many arguments in proof of Christianity. They have now subsisted, as a distinct people, for more than four thousand years, during which they have again and again been subdued, harassed, and almost exterminated. Their mighty conquerors, the Philistines, the As-

syrians, the Persians, the Macedonians, the Syrians, and the Romans, have in their turns ceased to exist, and can nowhere be found as distinct nations, while the Jews exist in great numbers, and are known in every part of the world. How can this be accounted for? Why has God preserved them alone, amongst the ancient nations of the earth? The truth is, they are still the subject of prophecy, with respect to both the old and new testament. They exist as monuments of God's wrath against them; as witnesses to the truth of the scriptures which condemn them; and as the destined objects of his final mercy before the end of the world. They are to be found in every quarter of the globe; but in the condition with which their great legislator Moses threatened them, if they forsook the Lord; namely, that he would *remove them into all the kingdoms of the earth*, Deut. xxviii. 25, and that they should become *an astonishment and a by-word among all nations*, Ibid. 37. That they should *find no ease, neither should the sole of their foot have rest*, Ibid. 65. Finally, they are everywhere seen, but carrying written on their foreheads the curse which they pronounced on themselves in rejecting their Messiah: *His blood be upon us and upon our children*, Matt. xxvii. 25. Still is this extraordinary people preserved, to be in the end converted and to find mercy. *Rom. xi. 26, &c.*

SAMUEL CAREY

PRELIMINARIES.

'LETTER II.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

Winton, October, 20th, 1862.

You certainly want no apology for writing to me on the subject of your letter. For if, as St. Peter inculcates, each Christian ought to be *ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh him a reason of the hope that is in him*, 1 Pet. iii. 15, how inexcusable would a person of my ministry and commission be, who am *a debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians, both to the wise and the unwise*, Rom. i. 14, were I unwilling to give the utmost satisfaction in my power, respecting the Catholic religion, to any human being, whose inquiries appear to proceed from a serious and candid mind, such as I must believe yours to be, desirous of discovering and embracing religious truth. And yet this disposition

is exceedingly rare among Christians. Infinitely the greater part of them, in choosing a system of religion, or in adhering to one, are guided by motives of interest, worldly honour, or convenience. These inducements not only raise their worst passions, but also blind their judgment, so as to create hideous phantoms to their intellectual eyes, and to hinder them from seeing the most conspicuous objects which stand before them. To such inconsistent Christians nothing proves so irritating as the attempt to disabuse them of their errors, except the success of that attempt, by putting it out of their power to defend them any longer. These are they, and oh! how infinite is their number, of whom Christ says, *They love darkness rather than light*, John, iii. 16, and who say to the prophets: *Prophesy not unto us right things; speak unto us smooth things*. Isai. xxx. 10. They form to themselves a *false conscience*, as the Jews did when they murdered their Messiah, *Acts*, iii. 17, and as he himself foretold many others would do in murdering his disciples. *John*, xvi. 2. I cannot help saying that I myself have experienced something of this spirit, in my religious discussions with persons who have been loudest in professing their candour and charity. Hence, I make no doubt, if the elucidation which you call for at my hands, for your numerous society, should happen by any means to become public, that I shall have to *eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of tribulation*, 1 Kings, xxii. 27, for this discharge of my duty, perhaps for the remainder of my life. But, as the apostle writes, *none of these things move me; neither count I my life dear to me, so that I may finish my course with joy and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus*. *Acts*, xx. 24.

It only remains then, sir, to settle the conditions of our correspondence. What I propose is, that, in the first place, all of us who are engaged in this friendly controversy, should mutually be at perfect liberty, without offence to any one, to speak of doctrines, practices, and persons, as we judge best for the discovery of truth; secondly, that we should be disposed in common, as far as human nature will permit, to investigate truth with impartiality; to acknowledge it when discovered with candour, and, of course, to renounce every error and unfounded prejudice that may be detected on any side, whatever it may cost us in so doing. I, for my part, dear sir, here solemnly promise, that I will publicly renounce the religion of which I am a minister, and will induce as many of my flock as I may have influence over to do the same, should it prove to be that "mass of absurdity, bigotry, superstition,

idolatry, and immorality," which you, sir, and most Protestants conceive it to be; or even if I should not succeed in clearing it of these respective charges. To religious controversy, when originating in its proper motives, that is, a desire of serving God and securing our salvation, I cannot declare myself an enemy, without virtually condemning the conduct of Christ himself, who on every occasion arraigned and refused the errors of the Pharisees: but I cannot conceive any hypocrisy so detestable as that of mounting the pulpit, or employing the pen, on sacred subjects, to serve our temporal interests, our resentment, or our pride, under pretext of promoting or defending religious truth. To inquirers, in the former predicament, I hold myself a debtor, as I have already said; but the circumstances must be extraordinary to induce me to hold a communication with persons in the latter. Lastly, as you appear, sir, to approve of the plan I spoke of in my first letter to Dr. Sturges, I mean to pursue it on the present occasion. This, however, will necessarily throw back the examination of your charges to a considerable distance, as several other important inquiries must precede it.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER III.

From JAMES BROWN, Esq. to the Rev. JOHN MILNER, D.D.

REVEREND SIR,

New Cottage, Oct. 30, 1801.

I HAVE been favoured in due course with yours of the 20th instant, which I have communicated to those persons of our society whom I have had an opportunity of seeing. No circumstance could strike us with greater sorrow, than that you should suffer any inconvenience from your edifying promptness to comply with our well-meant request, and we confidently trust that nothing of the kind will take place through our fault. We agree with you as to the necessity of perfect freedom of speech, where the discovery of important truths is the real object of inquiry. Hence, while we are at liberty to censure many of your popes and other clergy, Mr. Topham will not be offended with any thing that you can prove against Calvin, nor will Mr. Rankin quarrel with you for exposing the faults of George Fox and James Naylor, nor shall I complain of you for any thing that you may make out against our venerable Latimer or Cranmer; I say the same of doctrines and practices as of persons. If you are guilty of idolatry or

we of heresy, we are respectively unfortunate, and the greatest act of charity we can perform is, to point out to each other the danger of our respective situations to their full extent. Not to renounce error and embrace truth of every kind, when we clearly see it, would be folly; and to neglect doing this, when the question is about religious truth, would be folly and wickedness combined together. Finally, we cheerfully leave you to follow what course you please, and to whatever extent you please, provided you only give us satisfaction on the subjects I mentioned in my former letter.

I am, reverend sir, &c.

JAMES BROWN.

DISPOSITIONS FOR RELIGIOUS INQUIRY.

LETTER IV.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—THE dispositions which you profess on the part of your friends as well as yourself, I own please me, and animate me to undertake the task you impose upon me. Nevertheless, availing myself of the liberty of speech which you and your friends allow me, I am forced to observe, that there is nothing in which men are more apt to deceive themselves, than in thinking that they are free from religious prejudices, and sincere in seeking after and resolving to embrace the truth of religion, in opposition to their preconceived opinions and worldly interests. How many imitate Pilate, who, when he had asked our Saviour the question, *What is truth?* presently went out of his company, before he could receive an answer to it? *John*, xviii. 38. How many others resemble the rich young man, who, having interrogated Christ, *What good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life?* when this divine Master answered him: *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell what thou hast and give to the poor;—went away sorrowful?* *Matt.* xix. 22. Finally, how many more act like certain presumptuous disciples of our Lord, who, when he had propounded to them a mystery beyond their conception, that of the real presence, in these words: *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed;—said, this is a hard saying; who can hear it;—and went back and walked no more with him?* *John*, vi. 56. O! if all Christians of the different sects and opinions were but possessed of the sincerity, disinterestedness, and earnestness to

serve their God and save their souls, which a Francis Walsingham, kinsman to the great statesman of that name, Hugh Paulin Cressy, dean of Lauglin and prebendary of Windsor, and an Anthony Ulric, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, proved themselves to have been possessed of, the first in his *Search into Matters of Religion*, the second in his *Exomologesis, or Motives of Conversion*, &c. and the last in his *Fifty Reasons*; how soon would all and every one of our controversies cease, and we be all united in one faith, hope, and charity? I will here transcribe, from the preface to the *Fifty Reasons*, what the illustrious relative of our king says concerning the dispositions with which he set about inquiring into the grounds and differences of the several systems of Christianity, when he began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of that in which he had been educated, namely, Lutheranism. He says—"First, I earnestly implored the aid and grace of the Holy Ghost, and with all my power begged the light of true faith, from God, the Father of lights," &c.—"Secondly, I made a strong resolution, by the grace of God, to avoid sin, well knowing that *Wisdom will not enter into a corrupt mind, nor dwell in a body subject to sin*, Wisd. i. 4; and I am convinced, and was so then, that the reason why so many are ignorant of the true faith, and do not embrace it, is, because they are plunged into several vices, and particularly into carnal sins."—"Thirdly, I renounced all sorts of prejudices, whatever they were, which incline men to one religion more than another, and which unhappily I might have formerly espoused; and I brought myself to a perfect indifference, so as to be ready to embrace whichever the grace of the Holy Ghost and the light of reason should point out to me, without any regard to the advantages and inconveniences that might attend it in this world."—"Lastly, I entered upon this deliberation, and this choice, in the manner I should have wished to have done it at the hour of my death, and in a full conviction that, at the day of judgment, I must give an account to God why I followed this religion in preference to all the rest." The princely inquirer finishes this account of himself with the following awful reflections:—"Man has but one soul, which will be eternally either damned or saved. *What does it avail a man to gain the whole world and to lose his own soul?* Matt. xvi. 26. Eternity knows no end. The course of it is perpetual. It is a series of unlimited duration. There is no comparison between things infinite and those which are not so. O! the happiness of the eternity of the saints! O! the

wretchedness of the eternity of the damned. One of these two eternities awaits us!" I remain, sir, yours, &c.
JOHN MILNER.

METHOD OF FINDING OUT THE TRUE RELIGION.

LETTER V.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—It is obvious to common sense, that, in order to find out any hidden thing, or to do any difficult thing, we must first discover, and then follow, the proper method for such purpose. If we do not take the right road to any distant place, it cannot be expected that we should arrive at it. If we get hold of a wrong clue, we shall never extricate ourselves from the labyrinth. Some persons choose their religion, as they do their clothes, by fancy. They are pleased, for example, with the talents of a preacher, when presently they adopt his creed. Many adhere to their religious system merely because they were educated in it, and because it was that of their parents and family; which, if it were a reasonable motive for their resolution, would equally excuse Jews, Turks, and Pagans, for persisting in their respective impiety, and would impeach the preaching of Christ and his apostles. Others glory in their religion, because it is the one established in this their country, so renowned for science, literature, and arms: not reflecting that the polished and conquering nations of antiquity, the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, were left, by the inscrutable judgments of God, in darkness and the shadow of death, while a poor oppressed and despised people, on the banks of the Jordan, were the only depositary of divine truth and the sole truly enlightened nation. But far the greater part even of Christians, of every denomination, make the business of eternity subservient to that of time, and profess the religion which suits best with their interest, their reputation, and their convenience. I trust that none of your respectable society fall under these descriptions. They all have, or fancy they have, a rational method of discovering religious truth; in other words, an adequate *Rule of Faith*. Before I enter into any disquisition on this all-important controversy concerning the *right Rule of Faith*, on which the determination of every other depends, I will lay down three fundamental maxims, the truth of which, I believe, no rational Christian will dispute

First, *Our Divine Master, Christ, in establishing a religion here on earth, to which all the nations of the earth were invited, (Matt. xviii. 19.) left some RULE or Method, by which these persons who sincerely seek for it may certainly find it.*

Secondly, *This Rule or Method must be SECURE and neverfailing; so as not to be ever liable to lead a rational, sincere inquirer into error, impiety, or immorality of any kind.*

Thirdly, *This Rule or Method must be UNIVERSAL, that is to say, adapted to the abilities and other circumstances of all those persons for whom the religion itself was intended; namely, the great bulk of mankind.*

By adhering to these undeniable maxims, we shall quickly and clearly discover, dear Sir, the method appointed by Christ for arriving at the knowledge of the truths which he has taught: in other words, at *the right Rule of Faith*. Being possessed of this Rule, we shall, of course, have nothing else to do than to make use of it, for securely, and I trust, amicably settling all our controversies. This is the short and satisfactory method of composing religious differences, which I alluded to in my abovementioned letter to Dr. Sturges. To discuss them all separately is an endless task, whereas this method reduces them to a single question. I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

THE FIRST FALLACIOUS RULE OF FAITH.

LETTER VI.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Among serious Christians, who profess to make the discovery and practice of religion their first and earnest care, three different methods or rules have been adopted for this purpose. The first consists in a supposed *Private Interpretation*, or an immediate light and motion of God's Spirit, communicated to the individual. This was the rule of faith and conduct formerly professed by the Montanists, the Anabaptists, the Family of Love, and is now professed by the Quakers, the Moravians, and different classes of the Methodists. The second of these rules is, the *Written Word of God*, or **THE BIBLE**, according as it is understood by each particular reader or hearer of it. This is the professed rule of the more regular sects of Protestants, such as the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Socinians, and the Church-of-Englandmen. The third rule is, **THE WORD OF GOD** at large

whether written in the bible, or handed down from the apostles in continued succession by the Catholic Church, and as it is understood and explained by this Church. To speak more accurately, besides their rule of faith, which is *Scripture and Tradition*, Catholics acknowledge an *unerring judge of controversy*, or *sure guide* in all matters relating to salvation;—namely, **THE CHURCH**. I shall now proceed to shew that the first mentioned rule, namely, a supposed *private inspiration*, is quite fallacious, in as much as *it is liable to conduct, and has conducted, many into acknowledged errors and impiety.*

About the middle of the second age of Christianity, Monanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla, with their followers, by adopting this enthusiastical rule, rushed into the excess of folly and blasphemy. They taught that the Holy Spirit, having failed to save mankind, by Moses, and afterwards by Christ, had enlightened and sanctified them to accomplish this great work. The strictness of their precepts, and the apparent sanctity of their lives, deceived many; till at length, the two former proved what spirit they were guided by in hanging themselves. (1) Several other heretics became dupes of the same principles in the primitive and the middle ages; but it was reserved for the time of religious licentiousness, improperly called the *Reformation*, to display the full extent of its absurdity and impiety. In less than five years after Luther had sounded the trumpet of evangelical liberty, the sect of Anabaptists arose in Germany and the Low Countries. They professed to hold immediate communication with God, and to be ordered by him to despoil and kill all the wicked, and to establish a kingdom of the just, (2) who, to become such, were all to be rebaptized. Carlostad, Luther's first disciple of note, embraced this *ultra-Reformation*; but its acknowledged head, during his reign, was John Bockhold, a taylor of Leyden, who proclaimed himself king of Sion, and during a certain time was really sovereign of Munster, in Lower Germany, where he committed the greatest imaginable excesses, marrying eleven wives at a time, and putting them and numberless others of his subjects to death, at the motion of his supposed interior spirit. (3) He declared that God had made him a present of

(1) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. v. c. 15.

(2) "Cum Deo colloquium esse et mandatum habere se dicebant, ut, impiis omnibus interfectis, novum constituerent mundum, in quo pii solum et innocentes viverent et rerum potirentur."—Sleidan. De Stat. Rel. et Reip. Comment. l. iii. p. 45.

(3) Hist. Abreg. de la Reform. par Gerard Brandt, tom. i. p. 46 Mosheim, Eccles. Hist. by Macclaine, vol. iv. p. 452.

Amsterdam and other cities, which he sent parties of his disciples to take possession of. These ran naked through the streets, howling out, "Wo to Babylon; wo to the wicked;" and when they were apprehended, and on the point of being executed, for their seditions and murders, they sang and danced on the scaffold, exulting in the imaginary light of their spirit. (1) Herman, another Anabaptist, was moved by his spirit to declare himself the Messiah, and thus to evangelize the people, his hearers: "Kill the priests, kill all the magistrates in the world. Repent: your redemption is at hand." (2) One of their chief and most accredited preachers, David George, persuaded a numerous sect of them, that "the doctrine both of the Old and New Testament was imperfect, but that his own was perfect, and that he was the *true Son of God*." (3) I do not notice these impieties and other crimes for their singularity or their atrociousness, but because they were committed *upon the principle and under a full conviction of an individual and uncontrollable inspiration* on the part of their dupes and perpetrators.

Nor has our country been more free from this enthusiastic principle than Germany and Holland. Nicholas, a disciple of the abovementioned David George, came over to England with a supposed commission from God, to teach men that the essence of religion consists in the feelings of divine love, and that all other things relating either to faith or worship are of no moment. (4) He extended this maxim even to the fundamental precepts of morality, professing to continue in sin that grace might abound. His followers, under the name of the *Familiists*, or *The Family of Love*, were very numerous at the end of the sixteenth century, about which time, Hacket, a Calvinist, giving way to the same spirit of delusion, became deeply persuaded that the Spirit of the Messiah had descended upon him; and, having made several proselytes, he sent two of them, Arthington and Coppinger, to proclaim, through the streets of London, that Christ was come thither with his fan in his hand. This spirit, instead of being repressed, became still more ungovernable at the sight of the scaffold and the gibbet, prepared in Cheapside for his execution. Accordingly he continued, till the last, exclaiming: "Jehova, Jehova; don't you see the heavens open, and Jesus coming to deliver me?" &c. (5) Who has not heard of Venner, and his Fifth Monarchy-men? who, guided by the same private spirit of in-

(1) Brandt, p. 49, &c.

(2) Idem. p. 51.

(3) Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 484.

(4) Ibid. Brandt.

(5) Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 113. Stow's Annals, A. D. 1591.

spiration, rushed from their meeting-house in Coleman-street, proclaiming that they would "acknowledge no sovereign but king Jesus, and that they would not sheath their swords, till they had made Babylon (that is monarchy) a hissing and a curse, not only in England, but also throughout foreign countries: having an assurance that one of them would put a thousand enemies to flight, and two of them ten thousand." Venner, being taken and led to execution, with several of his followers, protested it was not he but Jesus who had acted as their leader. (1) I pass over the unexampled follies, and the horrors of the grand rebellion, having detailed many of them elsewhere. (2) It is enough to remark, that, while many of these were committed from the licentiousness of private interpretation of scripture, many others originated in the enthusiastic opinion which I am now combatting, that of an immediate individual *inspiration*, equal, if not superior, to that of the scripture themselves. (3)

It was in the midst of these religious and civil commotions that the most extraordinary people, of all those who have adopted the fallacious rule of private inspiration, started up at the call of George Fox, a shoemaker in Leicestershire. His fundamental propositions, as laid down by the most able of his followers, (4) are, that "*the scriptures are not the adequate primary rule of faith and manners,—but a secondary rule, subordinate to the spirit*, from which they have their excellency and certainty;" (5) that "*the testimony of the spirit* is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be revealed:" (6) and that "*all true and acceptable worship of God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own spirit*, which is neither limited to places, times, nor persons." (7) Such are the avowed principles of the people called Quakers: let us now see some of the fruits of those principles, as recorded by themselves in their founder and first apostles.

George Fox tells of himself, that at the beginning of his mission he was "moved to go to several courts and steeple-

(1) Echard's Hist. of Eng. &c.

(2) Letters to a Prebendary. Reign of Charles I.

(3) See the remarkable history of the military preachers at Kingston. Ibid.

(4) Robert Barclay's Apology for the Quakers.

(5) Propos. III. In defending this proposition, Barclay cites some of the friends, who being unable to read the scriptures, even in the vulgar language, and being pressed by adversaries with passages from it, *boldly denied, from the manifestation of truth in their own hearts, that such passages were contained in the scriptures*, p. 82.

(6) Propos. II.

(7) Propos. XI.

houses (churches) at Mansfield, and other places, to warn them to leave off oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit, and to turn to the Lord." (1) On these occasions the language and the behaviour of *his* spirit, was very far from the meekness and respect for constituted authorities of the gospel spirit, as appears from different passages in his Journal." (2) He tells us of one of his disciples, William Symson, who was "moved of the Lord to go, at several times, for three years, naked and barefoot before them, as a sign unto them, in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' houses, and to great men's houses, telling them: *so should they be all stripped naked.*" Another friend, one Robert Huntingdon, was moved of the Lord to go into Carlisle steeple-house with a white sheet about him." (3) We are told of a female friend who went "stark-naked, in the midst of public worship, into Whitehall chapel, when Cromwell was there;" and of another woman, who "came into the parliament-house with a trencher in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, '*Thus shall he be broke in pieces.*'" One came to the door of the parliament-house with a drawn sword, and wounded several, saying: "*he was* inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in that house." (4) But on no one occasion have the friends, with George Fox himself, been so embarrassed to save their *rule of faith*, as they have been to reconcile with it the conduct of James Naylor. (5) When certain low and disorderly people, in Hampshire, disgraced their society and became obnoxious to the laws, G. Fox disowned them, (6) but, when a friend of James Naylor's character and services (7) became the laughing stock of the nation, for his presumption and blasphemy, there was no other way for the society to separate his cause from their own, but by abandoning their

(1) See the Journal of George Fox, written by himself, and published by his disciple Penn, son of admiral Penn, folio, p. 17.

(2) I shall satisfy myself with citing part of his letter, written in 1600, to Charles II.—"King Charles, thou camest not into this nation by sword nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord. And if thou dost bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, May-games, with fiddlers, drums, and trumpets to play at them, with such like abominations and vanities be encouraged, or go unpunished, as setting up of May-poles, with the image of the crown a-top of them, the nation will quickly turn, like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord, till he overthrew them: and so he will you, if these things be not suddenly prevented, &c."—G. F.'s Journal, p. 225.

(3) Journal, p. 239.

(4) Maclaine's note on Mosheim, vol. v. p. 470

(5) See History of the Quakers by Wm. Sewel, folio, p. 138. Journal of G. Fox, p. 220.

(6) Journal of G. Fox, p. 320.

(7) Ibid. p. 220. Sewel's Hist of Quakers, p. 140.

fundamental principle, which leaves every man *to follow the spirit within him, as he himself feels it*. The fact is, James Naylor, like so many other dupes of a supposed private spirit, fancied himself to be the Messiah, and in this character rode into Bristol, his disciples spreading their garments before him and crying, *Holy, holy, holy, Hosanna in the highest*; and when he had been scourged, by order of parliament, for his impiety, he permitted the fascinated women who followed him to kiss his feet and his wounds, and to hail him "the prince of peace, the rose of Sharon, the fairest of ten thousand," &c. (1)

I pass over many sects of less note, as the Muggletonians, the Labbadists, &c. who, by pursuing the method of a supposed inward light, were led into the most impious and immoral practices. Allied to these are the Moravian brethren, or Hernhutters, so called from Hernhuth in Moravia, where their apostle, count Zinzendorf, made an establishment for them. They are now spread over England, with ministers and bishops appointed by others resident in Hernhuth. Their rule of faith, as laid down by Zinzendorf, is an imaginary inward light, against which the true believer cannot sin. This they are taught to wait for in quiet, omitting prayer, the reading of the scriptures, and other *works*. (2) They deny that even the moral law contained in the scriptures is a rule of life for believers. Having considered this system in all its bearings, we are the less surprised at the disgusting obscenity, mingled with blasphemy, which is to be met with in the theological tracts of the German count. (3)

(1) Echard's Hist. Maclaine's Mosheim. Neal's Hist. of Puritans. In closing this account of the Quakers, we may remark that there is no appearance yet of the fulfilment of the confident prophecy with which Barclay concludes his Apology: "That little spark (Quakerism) that hath appeared, shall grow to the consuming of whatsoever shall stand up to oppose it. The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it! Yea; he that hath risen in a small remnant, shall arise and go on by the same arm of power in his spiritual manifestation, until he hath conquered all his enemies: until all the kingdoms of the earth become the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

(2) Wesley, in a letter which he inscribes, "To the church of God at Hernhuth," says, "There are many whom your brethren have advised, though not in their public preaching, not to use the ordinances—reading the scripture, praying, communicating; as the doing these things is *seeking salvation by works*. Some of our English brethren (Moravians) say; '*you will never have faith till you leave off the church and sacraments: as many go to hell by praying as by thieving*.'" Journal, 1740. John Nelson, in his own journal, tells us, that the Moravians call their religion *The Liberty*, and the *Poor Sinnership*; adding, that they "sell their prayer-books and leave off reading and praying to follow the Lamb."

(3) See Maclaine, Hist. vol. vi. p. 23, and bishop Warburton's Doctrine of Grace, quoted by him.

The next system of delusion which I shall mention, as proceeding from the fatal principle of an *interior rule of faith*, was also, though framed in England, the work of a foreign nobleman, the baron Swedenborg. His first supposed revelation was at an eating-house in London, about the year 1745 "After I had dined," says he, "a man appeared to me sitting in the corner of the room, who cried out to me, with a terrible voice: *Don't eat so much.* The following night the same man appeared to me, shining with light, and said to me: *I am the Lord, your Creator and Redeemer: I have chosen you to explain to men the interior and spiritual sense of the scriptures: I will dictate to you what you are to write.*" (1) His imaginary communications with God and the angels were as frequent and familiar as those of Mahomed, and his conceptions of heavenly things were as gross and incoherent as those of the Arabian impostor. Suffice it to say, that his *God* is a mere *man*, his *angels* are *male* and *female*, who marry together and follow various *trades and professions*. Finally, his *New Jerusalem*, which is to be spread over the whole earth, is so little different from this sublunary world, that the entrance into it is *imperceptible*. (2) So far is true, that the New Jerusalemites are spread throughout England, and have chapels in most of its principal towns. (3)

I am sorry to be obliged to enter upon the same list with these enthusiasts a numerous class, many of them very respectable, of modern religionists, called Methodists; yet, since their avowed system of faith is, that this consists in an *instantaneous illapse of God's Spirit into the souls of certain*

(1) Baruel's Hist. du Jacobinisme, tom. iv. p. 118.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Since the above letter was written, another sect, the Joannites, or disciples of Joanna Southcote, have risen to notice by their number and the singularity of their tenets. This female apostle has been led by her spirit to believe herself to be the woman of Genesis, destined to crush the head of the infernal serpent, with whom she supposes herself to have had daily battles, to the effusion of his blood. She believes herself to be likewise the woman of the Revelations crowned with twelve stars, which are so many ministers of the established church. In fact, one of these, a richly beneficed rector and of a noble family, acts as her secretary in writing and sealing passports to heaven, which she supposes herself authorized to issue, to the number of 144,000, at a very moderate price. One of these passports in due form is in the writer's possession. It is sealed with three seals. The first exhibits two stars, namely, the morning star, to represent Christ, and the evening star, to represent herself. The second seal exhibits the lion of Juda, supposed to allude to the insane prophet, Richard Brothers. The third shews the face of Joanna herself. Of late her inspiration has taken a new turn; she believes herself to be pregnant of the Messiah, and her followers have prepared silver vessels of various sorts for his use, when he is born.

persons, by which they are *convinced of their justification and salvation*, without reference to scripture or any thing else, they cannot be placed, as to their *rule of faith*, under any other denomination. This, according to their founder's doctrine, is the *only article of faith*; all other articles he terms *opinions*, of which he says, "the Methodists do not lay any stress on them, whether right or wrong." (1) He continues: "I am sick of opinions; I am weary to hear them. my soul loathes the frothy food" (2) Conformably to this latitudinarian system, Wesley opens heaven indiscriminately to Churchmen, Presbyterians, Independants, Quakers, and even to Catholics. (3) Addressing the last named, he exclaims: "O that God would write in your hearts the rules of self-denial and love laid down by Thomas à Kempis; or that you would follow in this and in good works, the burning and shining light of your own church, the marquis of Renty. (4) Then would all who know and love the truth, rejoice to acknowledge you as the church of the living God." (5)

At the first rise of Methodism in Oxford, A. D. 1729, John Wesley and his companions were plain, serious, church-of-England men, assiduous and *methodical* in praying, reading, fasting, and the like. What they practised themselves, they preached to others, both in England and America, till becoming intimate with the Moravian brethren, and particularly with Peter Bohler, one of their elders, John Wesley "became convinced of unbelief, namely, *a want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.*" (6) Speaking of his past life and ministry, he says: "I was fundamentally a Papist and knew it not." (7) Soon after this persuasion, namely, on May 24, 1739, "going into a society in Aldersgate-street," he says, "whilst a person was reading Luther's Preface to the Romans, about a quarter before nine, I felt my heart strangely warmed: I felt I did trust in Christ, in Christ alone, for salvation, and *an assurance was given me that he had taken*

(1) Wesley's Appeal, P. iii. p. 134. (2) Ibid, p. 135. (3) Appeal.

(4) His life is written in French, by Pere St. Jure, a Jesuit, and abridged in English by J. Wesley.

(5) In his *Papery Calmly Considered*, p. 20, Wesley writes, "I firmly believe that many members of the church of Rome have been holy men, and that many are so now." He elsewhere says, "several of them (Papists) have attained to as high a pitch of sanctity, as human nature is capable of arriving at."

(6) Whitehead's Life of John and Charles Wesley, vol. ii. p. 68.

(7) Journal, A. D. 1729.—Elsewhere Wesley says: "O what a work has God begun since Peter Bohler came to England! such a one as shall never come to an end till heaven and earth pass away."

away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." (1)

What were now the unavoidable consequences of a diffusion of this doctrine among the people at large? Let us hear them from Wesley's most able disciple and destined successor, Fletcher of Madeley, "Antinomian principles and practices," he says, "have spread like wildfire among our societies. Many persons, speaking in the most glorious manner of Christ and their interest in his complete salvation, have been found living in the greatest immoralities. How few of our societies, where cheating, extorting, or some other evil hath not broke out, and given such shakes to the ark of the gospel, that, had not the Lord interposed, it must have been overset! (2) I have seen them, who pass for believers, follow the strain of corrupt nature; and when they should have exclaimed against Antinomianism, I have heard them cry out *against the legality of their wicked hearts*, which, they said, *still suggested that they were to DO something for their salvation*. (3) ... How few of our celebrated pulpits, where more has not been said *for sin than against it!*" (4) The same candid writer, laying open the foulness of his former system, charges Sir Richard Hill, who persisted in it, with maintaining that, "even adultery and murder do not hurt the pleasant children, but rather work for their good. (5) ... God sees no sin in believers, whatever sin they commit. My sins might displease God; my person is always acceptable to him. Though I should outsin Manasses, I should not be less a pleasant child, because God always views me in Christ. Hence in the midst of adulteries, murders and incests, he can address me with: *"Thou art all fair, my love, my undefiled. there is no spot in thee.* (6) ... It is a most pernicious error of the schoolmen to distinguish sins according to the *fact*, and not according to the

(1) Vide Whitehead, vol. ii. p. 79. In a letter to his brother Samuel, John Wesley says: By a Christian I mean one who so believes in Christ that death hath no dominion over him, and in this obvious sense of the word I was not a Christian till 24th May last year." Ibid. 105.

(2) Checks to Antinom. vol. ii. p. 22. (3) Ibid. p. 200. (4) Ibid. p. 215.

(5) Fletcher's Works, vol. iii. p. 50. Agricola, one of Luther's first disciples, is called the founder of the Antinomians. These hold that the faithful are bound by no law, either of God or man, and that good works of every kind are *useless* to salvation; while Amsdorf, Luther's pot-companion, taught that they are an *impediment* to salvation. Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. by MacLaine, vol. iv. P. 35, p. 328. Eaton, a Puritan, in his *Honeycomb of Justification*, says. "Believers ought not to mourn for sin, because it was pardoned before it was committed."

(6) Ibid. vol. iv. p. 97.

person. . . . Though I blame those who say, *let us sin that grace may abound*, yet adultery, incest, and murder, shall, upon the whole, make me *holier on earth and merrier in heaven*." (1)

These doctrines and practices, casting great disgrace on Methodism, alarmed its founder. He therefore held a synod of his chief preachers under the title of *A Conference*, in which he and they unanimously abandoned their past *fundamental principles* in the following confession which they made:—
Quest. 17. Have we not unawares leaned too much to Calvinism? *Ans.* We are afraid we have. *Quest.* 18. Have we not also leaned too much to Antinomianism? *Ans.* We are afraid we have. *Quest.* 20. What are the main pillars of it? *Ans.* 1. That Christ abolished the moral law: 2. That Christians therefore are not obliged to observe it. 3. That one branch of Christian liberty is liberty from observing the commandments of God," &c. (2) The publication of this retraction, in 1770, raised the indignation of the more rigid Methodists, namely, the Whitfieldites, Jumpers, &c. all of whom were under the particular patronage of lady Huntingdon: accordingly, her chaplain, the Hon. and Rev. Walter Shirley, issued a circular letter by her direction, calling a general meeting of her *connexion*, as it is called, at Bristol, to censure this "*dreadful heresy*," which, as Shirley affirmed, "*injured the very fundamentals of Christianity*." (3)

Having exhibited this imperfect sketch of the errors, contradictions, absurdities, impieties, and immoralities, into which numberless Christians, most of them, no doubt, sincere in their belief, have fallen, by pursuing phantoms of their imagination for divine illuminations, and adopting a supposed immediate and personal revelation as the *rule of their faith and conduct*, I would request any one of your respectable society, who may still adhere to it, to re-consider the self-evident maxim laid down in the beginning of this letter; namely, *that cannot be the rule of faith and conduct which is liable to lead us, and has led very many well-meaning persons, into error and impiety*: I would remind him of his frequent mistakes and illusions respecting things of a temporary nature: then, pointing to his mind the all-importance of ETERNITY, that is of happiness or misery inconceivable and everlasting, I would address him in the words of St. Augustine: "What is it you are trusting to, poor weak soul, and

(1) Quoted by Fletcher. See also Daubeny's Guide to the Church, p. 82. (2) Apud Whitehead, p. 213. Benson's Apology, p. 308.

(3) Fletcher's Works, vol. ii. 5. Whitehead. Nightingale's Portrait of Methodism, p. 463.

blinded with the mists of the flesh: what is it you are trusting to?"

JOHN MILNER.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER VII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—I have just received a letter from friend Rankin, of Wenlock, written much in the style of George Fox, and another from Mr. Ebenezer Topham, of Broseley. They both consist of objections to my last letter to you, which they had perused at New Cottage, and the writers of them both request that I would address whatever answer I might give them to your villa.

Friend Rankin is scenterious yet civil: he asks, 1st, "Whether Friends at this day and in past times, and even the faithful servant of Christ, George Fox, have not condemned the vain imaginations of James Naylor, Thomas Bushel, Perrot, and the sinful doings of many others, through whom the word of life was blasphemed in their day among the ungodly?" He asks, 2dly, "Whether numberless follies, blasphemies, and crimes have not risen up in the Roman Catholic as well as in other churches?" He asks, 3dly, "Whether learned Robert Barclay, in his glorious Apology, hath not shewn forth that *the testimony of the spirit is that alone by which the true knowledge of God hath been, is, and can be revealed* and confirmed, and this not only by the outward testimony of scripture, but also by that of Tertullian, Hierom, Augustin, Gregory the great, Bernard, yea also by Thomas à Kempis, F. Pacificus Baker, (1) and many others of the Popish communion, who (says Robert Barclay) have known and tasted the love of God, and felt the power and virtue of God's Spirit working within them for their salvation?" (2)

I will first consider the arguments of friend Rankin. I grant him, then, that his founder, George Fox, does blame certain extravagances of Naylor, Perrot, and others, his followers, at the same time that he *boasts* of several committed by himself, by Simpson, and others. (3) But how does he

(1) An English Benedictine Monk, author of *Sancta Sophia*, which is quoted at length by Barclay.

(2) *Apology*, p. 351.

(3) See Journal of G. Fox. *passim*.

confute them, and guard others against them? Why, he calls their authors *Ranters*, and charges them with *running out*! (1) Now what kind of an argument is this in the mouth of G. Fox against any fanatic, however furious, when he himself has taught him, that he is *to listen to the Spirit of God within himself, in preference to the authority of any man and of all men, and even of the gospel*? G. Fox was not more strongly moved to believe that he was the *Messenger of Christ*, than J. Naylor was, to believe that *he himself was Christ*: nor had he a firmer conviction that the Lord forbade *hat-worship*, as it is called, *out of prayer*, than J. Perrot (2) and his company had that they were forbidden to use it *in prayer*. (3) 2dly, With respect to the excesses and crimes committed by many Catholics of different ranks, as well as by other men, in all ages. I answer, that these have been committed, *not in virtue of their rules of faith and conduct, but in direct opposition to it*; as will be more fully seen when we come to treat of that rule: whereas the extravagances of the Quakers were the *immediate dictates of the imaginary spirit*, which they followed as their *guide*. Lastly, when the doctors of the Catholic Church teach us, after the inspired writers, *not to extinguish, but to walk in the spirit of God*; they tell us, at the same time, that this Holy Spirit invariably and necessarily leads us to hear the Church, and to practise that humility, obedience, and those other virtues which she constantly inculcates: so that, if it were possible for *an angel from heaven to preach another gospel than what we have received*, he ought to be rejected as a spirit of *darkness*. Even Luther, when the Anabaptists first broached many of the leading tenets of the Quakers, required them to demonstrate their pretended commission from God, by incontestable miracles, (4) or submit to be guided by his appointed ministers.

(1) Speaking of James Naylor, he says: "I spake with him, for I saw he was out and wrong—he slighted what I said, and was dark and much out." Journ. p. 220.

(2) Journ. p. 310. This and another friend, J. Love, went on a mission to Rome, to convert the pope to Quakerism; but his holiness not understanding English, when they addressed him with some coarse English epithets in St. Peter's church, they had no better success than a female friend, Mary Fisher, had, when she went into Greece to convert the Great Turk. See Sewel's Hist.

(3) "Now he (Fox) found also that the Lord forbade him to put off his hat to any man high or low; and he required to *thou and thee* every man and woman without distinction, and not to bid people, *good-morrow*, or *good-evening*, neither might he bow, or scrape with his leg." Sewel's Hist. p. 13. See there a Dissertation on *Hat-worship*. (4) Sleidau.

I have now to notice the letter of Mr. Topman. (1) Some of his objections have already been answered in my remarks on Mr. Rankin's letter. What I find particular in the former is the following passage: "Is it possible to go against conviction and facts? namely, the experience that very many serious Christians feel, in *this day of God's power*, that they are made partakers of Christ and of the Holy Ghost? Of very many that hear him saying to the melting heart, with this still small yet penetrating and renovating voice: *Thy sins are forgiven thee: Be thou clean: Thy faith hath made thee whole?* If an exterior proof were wanting to shew the certainty of this interior conviction, I might refer to the conversion and holy life of those who have experienced it." To this I answer, that the facts and the conviction, which your friend talks of, amount to nothing more than a certain strength of *imagination*, and warmth of *sentiment*, which may be *natural*, or may be produced by that *lying spirit*, whom God sometimes permits to *go forth*, and to *persuade* the presumptuous to their destruction. 1 Kings, xxii. 22. I presume Mr. Topham will allow, that no experience which he has felt or witnessed, exceeds that of Bockhold, or Hacket, or Naylor, mentioned above; who, nevertheless, were confessedly betrayed by it into most horrible blasphemies and atrocious crimes. The virtue most necessary for enthusiasts, because the most remote from them, is an humble diffidence in themselves. When Oliver Cromwell was on his death-bed, Dr. Godwin, being present among other ministers, prophesied that the protector would recover. Death, however, almost immediately ensuing, the Puritan, instead of acknowledging his error, cast the blame upon Almighty God, exclaiming: "Lord thou hast deceived us; and we have been deceived!" (2) With respect to the alleged purity of Antinomian saints, I would refer to the history of the lives and deaths of many of our English regicides, and to the gross immoralities of numberless *justified Methodists*, described by Fletcher in his *Checks to Antinomianism*. (3) I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

(1) It was originally intended to insert these and the other letters of the same description: but as this would have rendered the work too bulky, and, as the whole of the objections may be gathered from the answers to them, that intention has been abandoned.

(2) See Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 17.

(3) This candid and able writer says: "The Puritans and first Quakers soon got over the hedge of internal activity into the smooth and easy path of Loadicean formality. Most of us, called Methodists, have already followed them. We fall asleep under the bewitching power; we dream strange dreams; our salvation is finished; we have got above legality; we have

SECOND FALLACIOUS RULE

LETTER VIII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I take it for granted that my answers to Messrs. Rankin and Topham have been communicated to you, and I hope that, in conjunction with my preceding letters, they have convinced those gentlemen, of what you, dear sir, have all along been convinced, namely, of the inconsistency and fanaticism of every pretension on the part of individuals, now-a-days, to a new and particular inspiration, as a *rule of faith*. The question which remains for our inquiry is, whether the rule or method prescribed by the Church of England and other more rational classes of Protestants, -or that prescribed by the Catholic Church, is the one designed by our Saviour Christ for finding out his true religion. You say that the whole of this is composed in the *written word of God, or the bible*, and that *every individual is a judge* for himself of *the sense of the bible*. Hence in every religious controversy, were especially since the last change of the inconsistent Chillingworth, (1) Catholics have been stunned with the cries of arming Protestant sects and individuals, proclaiming that *the bible, the bible alone is their religion*: and hence, more particularly at the present day, bibles are distributed by hundreds of thousands, throughout the empire and the four quarters of the globe, as the adequate means of uniting and reforming Christians, and of converting infidels. On the other hand, we Catholics hold that *the word of God in general, both written and unwritten*, in other words, *the bible and tradition, taken together, constitute the rule of faith, or method appointed by Christ for finding out the true religion*: and that, *besides the rule itself, he has provided in his holy Church, a living, speaking judge, to watch over it and explain it in all matters of controversy*. That the latter, and not the former, is the *true rule*, I trust I shall be able to prove, as clearly as I have

attained Christian liberty; we have nothing to do; our covenant is sure." Vol. ii. p. 233. He refers to several instances of the most flagitious conduct which human nature is capable of, in persons who had attained to what they call *finished salvation*.

(1) Chillingworth was first a Protestant of the establishment: he next became a Catholic, and studied in one of our seminaries. He then returned, in part, to his former creed: and last of all he gave into Socinianism, which his writings greatly promoted.

prove that *private inspiration* does not constitute it: and this I shall prove by means of the two maxims I have, on that occasion, made use of; namely, *the rule of faith appointed by Christ must be CERTAIN and UNERRING*, that is to say, *it must be proportioned to the abilities and circumstances of the great bulk of mankind.*

I. If Christ had intended that all mankind should learn his religion from a *book*, namely, *the New Testament*, he himself would have written that book, and would have enjoined the obligation of learning to read it, as the first and fundamental precept of his religion; whereas, he never wrote any thing at all, unless perhaps the sins of the Pharisees with his finger upon the dust, *John*, viii. 6. (1) It does not even appear that he gave his apostles any command to *write* the gospel; though he repeatedly and emphatically commanded them to *preach* it (*Matt.* x.), and that to all the nations of the earth, *Matt.* xxviii. 19. In this ministry they *all of them* spent their lives, *preaching* the religion of Christ in every country from Judea to Spain, in one direction, and to India in another; everywhere establishing churches, and *commending their doctrine to faithful men who should be fit to teach others also.* 2 Tim. ii. 2. Only *a part* of them *wrote* any thing, and what these did write was, for the most part, addressed to particular persons or congregations, and on particular occasions. The ancient fathers tell us that St. Matthew wrote his gospel at the particular request of the Christians at Palestine, (2) and that St. Mark composed his at the desire of those at Rome. (3) St. Luke addressed his gospel to an *individual*, Theophilus, having *written* it, says the holy evangelist, because *it seemed good to him to do so.* Luke, i. 3. St. John wrote the last of the gospels in compliance with the petition of the clergy and people of Lesser Asia, (4) to prove, in particular, the divinity of Jesus Christ, which Cerinthus, Ebion, and other heretics began then to deny. No doubt the evangelists were moved by the Holy Ghost, to listen to the requests of the faithful, in writing their respective gospels; nevertheless, there is nothing in these occasions, nor in the gospels themselves, which indicates that any one of them, or all of them together, contain an

(1) It was agreed upon among the learned, that the supposed letter of Christ to Abgarus, king of Edessa, quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* l. i. is spurious.

(2) Euseb. l. 3. *Hist. Eccl.* Chrysos. in *Mat. Hom.* 1. Iren. l. 3. c. 1. Hieron. de *Vir Illust.*

(3) Euseb. l. 2, c. 15, *Hist. Eccl.* Epiph. Hieron. de *Vir Illust.*

(4) Euseb. l. 6, *Hist. Eccl.* Hieron.

entire, detailed, and *clear* exposition of the *whole* religion of Jesus Christ. The canonical epistles in the New Testament shew the particular occasions on which they were written, and prove, as the bishop of Lincoln observes, that "they are not to be considered as regular treatises on the Christian religion." (1)

II. In supposing our Saviour to have appointed his bare written word for the rule of our faith, without any authorized judge to decide on the unavoidable controversies growing out of it, you would suppose that he has acted differently from what common sense has dictated to all other legislators. For where do we read of a legislator, who, after dictating a code of laws, neglected to appoint judges and magistrates to decide on their meaning, and to enforce obedience to such decisions. You, dear sir, have the means of knowing what would be the consequence of leaving any act of parliament, concerning taxes, or inclosures, or any other temporal concerns, to the interpretation of the individuals whom it regards. Alluding to the Protestant rule, the illustrious Fenelon has said: "It is better to live without any law, than to have laws which all men are left to interpret according to their several opinions and interests." (2) The bishop of London appears sensible of this truth, as far as regards temporal affairs, where he writes: "In matters of property indeed, some decision, right or wrong, must be made: society could not subsist without it." (3) just as if peace and unity were less necessary in the *one sheepfold of the one Shepherd*, the Church of Christ, than they are in civil society!

III. The fact is: this method of determining religious questions by scripture only, according to each individual's interpretation, has always produced, whenever and wherever it has been adopted, endless and incurable dissensions, and of course *errors*; because truth is one, while errors are numberless. The ancient fathers of the Church reproached the sects of heretics and schismatics with their endless internal divisions. "See," says St. Augustin, "into how many morsels those are divided, who have divided themselves from the unity of the Church!" (4) Another father writes: "It is natural for error to be ever changing. The disciples have the same right in this matter that their masters had." (5)

To speak now of the Protestant reformers. No sooner had their progenitor, Martin Luther, set up the tribunal of his

(1) Elem. of Chris. Rel. vol. i. p. 277.

(2) Life of Archbp. Fenelon, by Ramsay.

(3) Brief Confut. p. 18.

(4) St. Aug.

(5) Tertul. de Præscrip.

private judgment on the sense of scripture, in opposition to the authority of the Church, ancient and modern. (1) than his disciples, proceeding on this principle, undertook to prove, from plain texts of the bible, that his own doctrine was erroneous, and that the Reformation itself wanted reforming. Carlstad, (2) Zuinglius, (3) Œcolompadius, (4) Munzer. (5) and a hundred more of his followers, wrote and preached against him and against each other, with the utmost violence, still each of them, professing to ground his doctrine and conduct on the *written word of God alone*. In vain did Luther claim a superiority over them: in vain did he denounce hell fire against them; (6) in vain did he threaten to return back to the Catholic religion; (7) he had put the bible into each man's hand to explain it for *himself*, and this his followers continued to do in open defiance of him; (8) till their mutual contradictions and discords became so numerous and scandalous, as to overwhelm the thinking part of them with grief and confusion. (9)

(1) This happened in June 1520, on his doctrine being censured by the pope. Till this time he had submitted to the judgment of the holy see.

(2) He was Luther's first disciple of distinction, being archdeacon of Wittemberg. He declared against Luther in 1521.

(3) Zuinglius began the Reformation in Switzerland some time after Luther began it in Germany, but taught such doctrine, that the latter termed him a Pagan, and said he despaired of his salvation.

(4) Œcolompadius was a Brigittine friar in the monastery of St. Lawrence, near Augsburg: but soon quitted the cloister, married, and adopted the sentiments of Zuinglius, respecting the real presence, in preference to those of Luther. His death was sudden, and by Luther it is asserted, that he was strangled by the devil.

(5) Munzer was the disciple of Luther, and founder of the Anabaptists, who, in quality of *the just*, maintained that the property of *the wicked* belonged to them, quoting the second beatitude: *Blessed are the meek, for they shall possess the land*. Munzer wrote to the several princes of Germany to give up their possessions to him, and, at the head of 40,000 of his followers, marched to enforce this requisition.

(6) He says to them: "I can defend you against the pope,—but when the devil shall urge against you (the heads of these changes) at your death, these passages of scripture; *they ran, and I did not send them*, how shall you withstand him! He will plunge you headlong into hell." Oper. tom. vii. fol. 274.

(7) "If you continue in these measures of your common deliberations, I will recant whatever I have written or said, and leave you. Mind what I say."—Oper. tom. vii. fol. 275, edit. Wittemb.

(8) See the curious challenge of Luther to Carlstad to write a book against the *real presence*, when one wishes the other to *break his neck*, and the other retorts: *may I see thee broken on the wheel*. Variat. b. ii. n. 12.

(9) Capito, minister of Strasburg, writing to Farel, pastor of Geneva, thus complains to him: "God has given me to understand the mischief we have done by our precipitancy in breaking with the pope, &c. The people

To point out some few of the particular variations alluded to; for to enumerate them all would require a work vastly more voluminous than that of Bossuet on this subject: it is well known that Luther's *fundamental* principle was that of *imputed justice*, to the exclusion of all acts of virtue and good works whatsoever. His favourite disciple and bottle companion, Armsdorf, carried this principle so far as to maintain, that *good works are an hindrance to salvation*. (1) In vindication of his fundamental tenet, Luther vaunts as follows: "This article shall remain, in spite of all the world: it is I, Martin Luther, evangelist, who say it: let no one therefore attempt to infringe it, neither the emperor of the Romans, nor the Turks, nor the Tartars; neither the pope, nor the monks, nor the nuns, nor the king, nor the princes, nor all the devils in hell. If they attempt it, may the infernal flames be their recompense. What I say here is to be taken for an inspiration of the Holy Ghost." (2) Notwithstanding, however, these terrible threats and imprecations of their master, Melancthon, with the rest of the Lutherans, abandoned this article, immediately after his death, and went over to the opposite extreme of Semipelagianism; not only admitting the necessity of good works, but also teaching that these are prior to God's grace. Still on this single subject Osiander, a Lutheran, says, "there are twenty several opinions, *all drawn from the scripture*, and held by different members of the Augsburg, or Lutheran Confession." (3)

Nor has the unbounded license of explaining scripture, each one in his own way, which Protestants claim, been confined to mere errors and dissensions. It has also caused mutual persecution and bloodshed: (4) it has produced tumults, rebel-

say to us: I know enough of the gospel. I can read it for myself. I have no need of you." Inter Epist. Calvini In the same tone Dudith writes to his friend Beza: "Our people are carried away by every wind of doctrine. If you know what their religion is to-day, you cannot tell what it will be to-morrow. In what single point are those churches which have declared war against the pope agreed amongst themselves? There is not one point which is not held by some of them as an article of faith, and by others as an impiety." In the same sentiment, Calvin writing to Melancthon, says, "It is of great importance that the divisions which subsists among us should not be known to future ages: for nothing can be more ridiculous than that we, who have broken off from the whole world, should have agreed so ill among ourselves from the very beginning of the Reformation."

(1) Mosheim Hist. by MacLaine, vol. iv. p. 228, ed. 1790.

(2) Visit. Saxon.

(3) Archdeacon Blackburn's Confessional, p. 16.

(4) See Letters to a Prebendary, chapter, Persecution. Numberless other proofs of Protestants persecuting, not only Catholics, but also their fellow-Protestants to death, on account of their religious opinions, can be adduced.

lions, and anarchy beyond recounting. Dr. Hey asserts, that "the misinterpretation of scripture brought on the miseries of the civil war;" (1) and lord Clarendon, Madox, and other writers, shew that there was not a crime committed by the Puritan rebels, in the course of it, which they did not profess to justify by texts and instances drawn from the sacred volumes. (2) Leland, Bergier, Baruel, Robison, and Kett, abundantly prove that the poisonous plant of infidelity, which has produced such dreadful effects of late years on the continent, was transplanted thither from this Protestant island, and that it was produced, nourished, and increased to its enormous growth by that principle of private judgment in matters of religion, which is the very foundation of the Reformation. Let us hear the two last-mentioned authors, both of them Protestant clergymen, on this important subject. "The spirit of free inquiry," says Kett, quoting Robison, "was the great boast of the Protestants, and their only support against the Catholics; securing them both in their civil and religious rights. It was therefore encouraged by their governments, and sometimes indulged to excess. In the progress of this contest their own confessions did not escape censure; and it was asserted, that the Reformation, which these confessions express, was not complete. Further reformation was proposed. The scriptures, the foundation of their faith, were examined by clergymen of very different capacities, dispositions, and views, till, by explaining, correcting, allegorizing, and otherwise twisting the bible, men's minds had hardly any thing to rest on, as a doctrine of revealed religion. This encouraged others to go further, and to say that revelation was a solecism, as plainly appears by the irreconcilable differences among the enlighteners of the public, so they were called; and that man had nothing to trust to but the dictates of natural reason. Another set of writers, proceeding from this as from a point settled, proscribed all religion whatever, and openly taught the doctrines of Materialism and Atheism. *Most of these innovations were the work of Protestant divines, from the causes that I have mentioned.* But the progress of infidelity was much accelerated by the establishment of a *Philanthropine*, or Academy of general education in the principality of Anhalt-Dessau. The professed object of this institution was to unite the three Christian communions of Germany, and to make it possible for the members of them all not only to live amicably and to wor-

• Dr. Hey's Theological Lectures, vol. i. p. 77.
 & c. of Civ. War. Examin. of Neal's Hist. of Puritans

ship God in the same church, but even to communicate together. This attempt gave rise to much speculation and refinement; and the proposal for the amendment of the formulas and the instructions from the pulpit were prosecuted with so much keenness, that the groundwork of Christianity was refined and refined till it vanished altogether, leaving deism, or natural, or, as it was called, *philosophical religion* in its place. *The Lutherans and Calvinists, prepared by the causes beforementioned to become dupes to this masterpiece of art, were enticed by the specious liberality of the scheme, and the particular attention which it promised to the morals of youth: but not one Roman Catholic could Basédown allure to his seminary of practical ethics.*" (1)

IV. You have seen, dear sir, to what endless errors and impieties the principle of private interpretation of scripture, no less than that of private inspiration of faith, has conducted men, and of course is ever liable to conduct them; which circumstance therefore proves, according to the self-evident maxim stated above, that it cannot be the rule which is to bring us to religious truths. Nor is it to be imagined that, previously to the formation of the different national churches and other religious associations, which took place in several parts of Europe, at what is called "the Reformation," the scriptures had been diligently consulted by the founders of the new sects; or that the ancient system of religion was exploded, or the new systems adopted, in conformity with the apparent sense of the sacred text, as Protestant controversialists would have you believe. No, sir, princes and statesmen had a great deal more to do with these changes than theologians; and most of the parties concerned in them were evidently pushed on by very different motives from those of religion. As to Martin Luther, he testifies, and calls God to witness the truth of his testimony, that it was *not willingly* (that is, not from a previous discovery of the falsehood of his religion) but *from accident* (namely, a quarrel with the Dominican friars, and afterwards with the pope), that he fell into his broils about religion. (2) With respect to the Reforma-

(1) Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all Religions, &c.* Kett's *History the Interpreter of Prophecy*, vol. ii. p. 158.

(2) "*Casu non voluntate in hac turmas incidi: Deum testor.*"—The Protestant historian, Mosheim, with whom Hume agrees, admits that several "of the principal agents in this revolution were actuated more by the impulse of passions, and views of interest, than by a zeal for true religion." Macclaine, vol. iv. p. 135. He had before acknowledged that king Gustavus introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, in opposition to the clergy and

tion in our own country, we all know that Henry VIII. who took the first step towards it, was, at the beginning of his reign, so zealous against it, that he wrote a book, which he dedicated to pope Leo X. in opposition to it, and in return obtained from this pontiff, for himself and successors, the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Becoming afterwards enamoured of Anne Boleyn, one of the maids of honour to the queen, and the reigning pope having refused to sanction an adulterous marriage with her, he caused a statute to be passed, abrogating the pope's supremacy, and declaring himself *Supreme Head of the Church of England*. (1) Thus he plunged the nation into schism, and opened a way for every kind of heresy and impiety. In short, nothing is more evident than that the king's inordinate passion, and not the word of God, was the rule followed in this first important change of our national religion.—The unprincipled duke of Somerset, who next succeeded to supreme power in the church and state, under the shadow of his youthful nephew Edward VI. pushed on the Reformation, so called, much farther than it had yet been carried, with a view to the gratification of his own ambitious and avaricious purposes. He suppressed the remaining colleges and hospitals, which the profligacy of Henry had spared, converting their revenues to his own and his associates' uses. He forced Cranmer and other bishops to take out fresh commissions for governing their diocesses during his nephew's, that is to say, his own *good pleasure*. (2) He made a great number of important

bishops, "not only as agreeable to the genius and spirit of the gospel, but also as favourable to the temporal state and political constitution of the Swedish dominions." pp. 79, 80. He adds, that Christiern, who introduced the Reformation into Denmark, was animated by no other motives than those of ambition and avarice, p. 82. Grotius, another Protestant, testifies that it was "sedition and violence which gave birth to the Reformation in his country," Holland, *Append. de Antichristo*. The same was the case in France, Geneva, and Scotland. It is to be observed, that in all these countries the reformers, as soon as they got the upper hand, became violent persecutors of the Catholics. Bergier defies Protestants to name so much as a town or village in which, when they became masters of it, they tolerated a single Catholic.

(1) Archbishop Parker records, that the bishops assembled in synod in 1531 offered to sign this new title, with the following salvo: "*In quantum per Christi leges licet*:" but that the king would admit of no such modification. *Antiq. Brit.* p. 325. In the end, they surrendered the whole of their spiritual jurisdiction to him (all except the religious bishop of Rochester, Fisher, who was put to death for his refusal), and were content to publish *Articles of Religion devised by the king's highness*. Heylin *Hist. of Reform.* Collier, &c.

(2) "*Licentiam concedimus ad nostrum beneplacitum dumtaxat duraturum.*" Burnet *Hist. Ref. Rec.* p. 11. b. 1. n. 2.

changes in the public worship by his own authority or that of his visitors; (1) and when he employed certain bishops and divines in forming fresh articles and a new liturgy, he punished them with imprisonment if they were not obsequious to his orders. (2) He even took upon himself to alter their work, when sanctioned by parliament, in compliment to the church's greatest enemy, Calvin. (3)—Afterwards, when Elizabeth came to the throne, a new Reformation, different in articles and liturgy from that of Edward VI. was set on foot, and moulded, not according to scripture, but to her orders. She deposed all the bishops except one, "*the calamity of his see*," as he was called; (4) and required the new ones, whom she appointed, to renounce certain exercises, which they declared to be *agreeable to the word of God*, (5) but which she found not to agree with her system of politics. She even in full parliament threatened to depose them all, if they did not act conformably to her views. (6)

V. The more strictly the subject is examined, the more clearly it will appear, that it was not in consequence of any investigation of the scriptures, either public or private, that the ancient Catholic religion was abolished, and one or other of the new Protestant religions set up in the different northern kingdoms and states of Europe, but in consequence of the politics of princes and statesmen, the avarice of the nobility and gentry, and the irreligion and licentiousness of the people. I will even advance a step further, and affirm that there is no appearance of any individual Protestant, to what-

(1) See the Injunctions of the Council to Preachers, published before the parliament met, concerning the mass in the Latin language, prayers for the dead, &c. See also the order sent to the primate against palms, ashes, &c. in Heylin, Burnet, and Collier. The boy Edward VI. just thirteen years old, was taught by his uncle to proclaim as follows: "We would not have our subjects so much to mistake our judgment, &c. as though we could not discern what is to be done, &c. God be praised, we know what, by his word, is to be redressed," &c. Collier, vol. ii. p. 246.

(2) The bishops Heath and Gardiner were both imprisoned for non-compliance.

(3) Heylin complains bitterly of Calvin's pragmatical spirit in quarrelling with the English liturgy, and soliciting the protector to alter it. Preface to Hist. of Reform. His letters to Somerset on the subject may be seen in *Fox's Acts and Monum.*

(4) Anthony Kitchin, so called by Godwin, do Praesul, and Camden.

(5) This took place with respect to what was termed *prophecying*, then practised by many Protestants, and defended by archbishop Grindal and the other bishops, as *agreeable to God's word*: nevertheless, the queen obliged them to suppress it. Col. Eccl. Hist. P. II. p. 554, &c.

(6) See her curious speech in parliament, March 25, 1583, in Stow's Annals

ver sect he belongs, having formed his creed by the rule of *scripture alone*. For do you, sir, really believe that those persons of your communion, whom you see the most diligent and devout in turning over their bibles, have really found out in them the thirty-nine articles, or any other creed which they happen to profess? To judge more certainly of this matter, I wish those gentlemen who are the most zealous and active in distributing bibles among the Indians and Africans in their different countries, would procure from some half dozen of the most intelligent and serious of their proselytes who have heard nothing of the Christian faith by any other means than their bibles, a summary of what they respectively understand to be the doctrine and the morality taught in that sacred volume, What inconsistent and nonsensical symbols should we not witness! The truth is, Protestants are tutored from their infancy, by the help of *catechisms* and *creeds*, in the systems of their respective sects; they are guided by their *parents* and *masters*, and are influenced by the *opinions* and *example* of those with whom they live and converse. Some particular texts of scripture are strongly impressed upon their minds, and others of an *apparently* different meaning are kept out of their view, or glossed over; and above all, it is constantly *inculcated* to them, that their religion is built upon scripture alone. Hence, when they actually read the scriptures, they fancy they *see there* what they have been otherwise taught to believe; the Lutheran, for example, that Christ is really present in the sacrament; the Calvinist, that he is as far distant from "it, as heaven is from earth;" the Churchman, that baptism is necessary for infants; the Baptist, that it is an impiety to confer it upon them; and so of all the other forty sects of Protestants enumerated by Evans in his *Sketch of the different Denominations of Christians*, and of twice forty other sects whom he omits to mention.

When I remarked that our blessed Master Jesus Christ wrote no part of the New Testament himself, and gave no orders to his apostles to write it, I ought to have added, that if he had intended it to be, together with the Old Testament, the *sole* rule of religion, he would have provided means for their being able to follow it; knowing, as he certainly did, that 99 in every 100, or rather 999 in every 1000, in *different ages and countries*, would not be able to read at all, and much less to comprehend a page of the sacred writings. Yet no such means were provided by him; nor has he so much as enjoined it to his followers in general to study letters.

Another observation on this subject, and a very obvious one, is, that among those Christians who profess that the bible alone is the rule of their religion, there ought to be no articles, no catechisms, no sermons, nor other instructions. True it is, that the abolition of these, however incompatible they are with the rule itself, would quickly undermine the established church, as its clergy now begin to understand, and, if universally carried into effect, would, in the end, efface the whole doctrine and morality of the gospel: (1) but this consequence (which is inevitable) only shews more clearly the falsehood of this exclusive rule. In fact, the most enlightened Protestants find themselves here in a dilemma, and are obliged to say and unsay to the amusement of some persons and the pity of others. (2) They cannot abandon the rule of *the bible alone*, as explained by each one for himself, without proclaiming their guilt in refusing to hear the Church; and they cannot adhere to it, without opening the flood-gates to all the impiety and immorality of the age upon their own communion. I shall have occasion hereafter to notice the claims of the established church to *authority*, in determining the *sense* of scripture, as well as in other religions controversies: in the mean time I cannot but observe, that her most able defenders are frequently obliged to abandon their own, and adopt the Catholic rule of faith. The judicious Hooker, in his defence of the Church of England, writes thus: "Of this we are right sure, that nature, scripture, and experience itself have taught the world to seek for the ending of contentions by submitting to some judicial and definite sentence, whereunto neither parties that contendeth, may, under any pretence or colour, refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong. As for other means, without this, they seldom prevail." (3)

(1) The Protestant writers, Kett and Robison, have shewn in the passage before quoted, how the principle of private judgment tends to undermine Christianity at large; and archdeacon Hook, in his late charge shews, by an exact statement of capital convictions in different years, that the increase of immorality has kept pace with that of the bible societies.

(2) One of the latest instances of the distress in question was exhibited by the Right Rev. Dr. Marsh. In his publication, *The Inquiry*, p. 4, he said very truly, that "the poor (who constitute the bulk of mankind) cannot without assistance understand the scriptures:" being congratulated on this important yet unavoidable concession by the Rev. Mr. Gandolphy, he tacks about in a public letter to that gentleman, and says, that what he wrote in his *Inquiry* concerning the necessity of a further rule than mere scripture, only regards the *establishment* of religion, not the *truth* of it; just as if that rule were sufficient to conduct the people to the *truth* of religion, while he expressly says they *cannot understand it*!

(3) Hooker's *Eccles. Politic. Pref.* art. 6.

Another most clearheaded writer, and renowned defender of the establishment, whom I had the happiness of being acquainted with, Dr. Balguy, (1) thus expresses himself in a *Charge to the clergy* of his archdeaconry: "The opinions of the people are and must be founded more on authority than reason. Their parents, their teachers, their governors, in a great measure, determine for them what they are to believe and what to practice. The same doctrines uniformly taught, the same rites constantly performed, make such an impression on their minds, that they hesitate as little in admitting the articles of their faith, as in receiving the most established maxims of common life." (2) With such testimonies before our eyes, can you, dear sir, imagine that the bulk of Protestants have formed their religion by the standard of scripture? He goes on to say, speaking of controverted points: "Would you have them (the people) think for themselves? Would you have them hear and decide the controversies of the learned? Would you have them enter into the depths of criticism, of logic, of scholastic divinity? You might as well expect them to compute an eclipse, or decide between the Cartesian and Newtonian philosophy. Nay, I will go farther: for I take upon myself to say, there are more men capable, in some competent degree, of understanding Newton's philosophy, than of forming any judgment at all concerning the abstruser questions in metaphysics and theology." Yet the persons of whom the doctor particularly speaks, were all furnished with bibles; and the abstruse questions, which he refers to, are: "Whether Christ did, or did not, come down from heaven?" Whether "he did, or did not die, for the sins of the world?" Whether "he sent his Holy Spirit to assist and comfort us, or whether he did not send him?" (3) The learned doctor elsewhere expresses himself still more explicitly on the subject of scripture without church authority. He is combatting the Dissenters, but his weapons are evidently as fatal to his own church as to theirs. "It has long been held among them that scripture alone is the rule and test of all religious ordinances; and that human authority is to be altogether excluded. Their ancestors, I believe, would have been not a

(1) Discourses on various Subjects, by T. Balguy, D. D. archdeacon and prebendary of Winchester. Some of these discourses were preached at the consecration of bishops, and published by order of the archbishop; some in charges to the clergy. The whole of them is dedicated to the king, whom the writer thanks for naming him to a high dignity (the bishopric of Gloucester), and for permitting him to decline accepting of it.

(2) Ibid p. 257.

(3) Ibid.

little embarrassed with their own maxim, if they had not possessed a *singular talent of seeing every thing in scripture which they had a mind to see*. Almost every sect could find there its own peculiar form of church-government; and *while they enforced only their own imaginations, they believed themselves to be executing the decrees of heaven.*" (1)

I conclude this long letter with a passage to the present purpose from our admired theological poet:—

"As long as words a different sense will bear,
And each may be his own interpreter,
Our airy faith will no foundation find:
The word's a weathercock for every wind." (2)

I am, dear sir, &c. JOHN MILNER.

SECOND FALSE RULE.

LETTER IX.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—After all that I have written concerning the rule of faith, adopted by yourself and other more rational Protestants, I have only yet treated of the extrinsic arguments against it. I now therefore proceed to investigate its *intrinsic nature*, in order to shew more fully the inadequacy, or rather the falsehood of it.

When an English Protestant gets possession of an English Bible, printed by Thomas Basket, or other "printer to the king's most excellent majesty," he takes it in hand with the same confidence as if he had immediately received it from the Almighty himself, as Moses received the tables of the law on Mount Sina, amidst thunder and lightning. But how vain is this confidence, whilst he adheres to the foregoing rule of faith! How many questionable points does he assume as proved, which cannot be proved without relinquishing his own principles and adopting ours!

I. Supposing then you, dear sir, to be the Protestant I have been speaking of; I begin with asking you: by what means have you learnt what is the *canon* of scripture, that is to say, which are the books which have been written by divine inspiration; or, indeed, how have you ascertained that *any* books at all have been so written? You cannot discover either of these things by your rule, because the scripture, as your great

(1) Discourse VII. p. 126.

(2) Dryden's Hind and Panther, part i.

authority Hooker shews (1) and Chillingworth allows, cannot bear testimony to itself. You will say that the Old Testament was written by Moses and the prophets, and the New Testament by the apostles of Christ and the evangelists. But admitting all this; it does not of itself prove that they *always* wrote, or indeed that they ever wrote, under the influence of *inspiration*. They were by nature fallible men; how have you learnt that they were infallible writers? In the next place, you receive books, as canonical parts of the Testament, which were not written by apostles at all, namely, the gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke; whilst you reject an authentic work of great excellence, (2) written by one who is termed in scripture *an apostle*, (3) and declared to be *full of the Holy Ghost*; (4) I speak of St. Barnaby. Lastly, you have no sufficient authority for asserting, that the sacred volumes are the genuine composition of the holy personages whose names they bear, except the tradition and living voice of the Catholic Church; since numerous apocryphal prophecies and spurious gospels and epistles, under the same or equal venerable names, were circulated in the Church, during its early ages, and accredited by different learned writers and holy fathers; while some of the really canonical books were rejected or doubted of by them. In short, it was not until the end of the fourth century, that the genuine canon of holy scripture was fixed, and then it was fixed by the *tradition and authority of the Church*, declared in the third council of Carthage and a decretal of pope Innocent I. Indeed, it is so clear that the canon of scripture is built on the tradition of the Church, that most learned Protestants, (5) with Luther himself, (6) have been forced to acknowledge it, in terms almost as strong as those in the well-known declaration of St. Augustin. (7)

II. Again; supposing the divine authority of the sacred books themselves to be established; how do you know that the copies of them translated and printed in your bible are authentic? It is agreed upon amongst the learned, that, together with the temple and city of Jerusalem, the original text

(1) Eccles. Polit. b. iii. sec. 8.

(2) St. Barnaby. See Grabe's Spicileg. and Cotlerus's Collect.

(3) Acts, xiv. 24.

(4) Acts, xi. 24.

(5) Hooker, Eccl. Polit. c. iii. s. 8. Dr. Lardner, in bishop Watson's Col. vol. ii. p. 20.

(6) "We are obliged to yield many things to the Papists—that with them is the word of God, which we received from them; otherwise we should have known nothing at all about it." Comment on John, c. 16.

(7) "I should not believe the gospel itself, if the authority of the Catholic Church did not oblige me to do so." Contra. Epist. Fundam.

of Moses and the ancient prophets were destroyed by the Assyrians, and Nebuchadnezzar; (1) and though they were replaced by authentic copies; at the end of the Babylonish captivity, through the pious care of the prophet Esdras or Ezra, yet that these also perished in the subsequent persecution of Antiochus; (2) from which time we have no evidence of the authenticity of the Old Testament, till this was supplied by Christ and his apostles, who transmitted it to the Church. In like manner, granting, for example, that St. Paul wrote an inspired epistle to the Romans and another to the Ephesians; yet, as the former was intrusted to an individual, the deaconess Phœbe, to be conveyed by her to its destination, (3) and the latter to his disciple, Tychicus, (4) for the same purpose, it is impossible for you to entertain a rational conviction that these epistles, as they stand in your testament, are exactly in the state in which they issued from the apostle's pen, or that they are his genuine epistles at all, without recurring to the tradition and authority of the Catholic Church concerning them. To make short of this matter, I will not lead you into the labyrinth of biblical criticism, nor will I shew you the endless varieties of readings with respect to words and whole passages, which occur in different copies of the sacred text, but will here content myself with referring you to your own bible book, as printed by authority. Look then at Psalm xiv. as it occurs in the Book of Common Prayer, to which your clergy swear their "consent and assent;" then look at the same psalm in your bible: you will find four whole verses in the former, which are left out of the latter! What will you here say, dear sir? You must say that your Church has added to, or else that she has *taken away from, the words of this prophecy!* (5)

III. But your pains and perplexities concerning your rule of faith must not stop even at this point: for though you had demonstrative evidence, that the several books in your bible are canonical and authentic, in the originals, it would still remain for you to inquire whether or no they are *faithfully translated in your English copy*. In fact, you are aware that they were written, some of them in Hebrew, and some of

(1) Brett's Dissert. in bishop Watson's Collect. vol. iii. p. 5.

(2) Ibid. (3) Rom. xvi. See Calmet, &c. (4) Ephes. vi. 21

(5) The verses in question being quoted by St. Paul, Rom. iii. 13, &c. there is no doubt but the common bible is *defective* in this passage. On the other hand, the bishop of Lincoln has published his conviction that the most important passage in the New Testament, 1 John, v. 7, for establishing the divinity of Jesus Christ, "is spurious." Elem. of Theo. vol. ii. p. 90.

them in Greek; out of which languages they were translated, for the last time, by about fifty different men, of various capacities, learning, judgment, opinions, and prejudices. (1) In this inquiry the Catholic Church herself can afford you no security to build your faith upon; much less can any private individuals whosoever. The celebrated Protestant divine, Episcopius, was so convinced of the fallibility of modern translations, that he wanted all sorts of persons, labourers, sailors, women, &c. to learn Hebrew and Greek. Indeed, it is obvious that the sense of a text may depend upon the choice of a single word in the translation: nay, it sometimes depends upon the mere *punctuation* of a sentence, as may be seen below. (2) Can you then, consistently, reject the authority of the great universal Church, and yet build upon that of some obscure translator in the reign of James I.? No, sir you must yourself have compared your English bible with the originals, and have proved it to be a faithful version, before you can build your faith upon it as upon the *word of God*.—To say one word now of the bibles themselves, which have been published by authority, or generally used by Protestants in this country: Those of Tindal, Coverdale and queen Elizabeth's bishops, were so notoriously corrupt as to cause a general outcry against them among learned Protestants, as well as among Catholics, in which the king himself (James I.) joined. (2) and accordingly ordered a new version of it to be made, being the same that is now in use, with some few alterations made after the Restoration. (3) Now, though these new translators have corrected many wilful errors of their predecessors, most of which were levelled at Catholic doctrines and discipline, (4) yet they have left a sufficient number of these behind, for which I do not find that their advocates offer any excuse. (5)

(1) See a list of them in Ant. Johnson's Hist. Account. Theo. Collect, p. 95.

(2) One of the strongest passages for the divinity of Christ is the following, as it is pointed in the Vulgate: *Ex quibus est Christus, secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula*. Rom. ix. 5. But see how Grotius and Socinus deprive the text of all its strength by merely substituting a point for a comma: *Ex quibus est Christus, secundum carnem. Qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in sæcula*.

(3) Bishop Watson's Collect, vol. iii. p. 98.

(4) Ibid.

(5) These may be found in the learned Gregory Martin's Treatise on the subject, and in Ward's Errata to the Protestant Bible.

(6) Two of these I had occasion to notice in the *Inquiry into the Character of the Irish Catholics*, namely, 1 Cor. xi. 27, where the conjunctive *and* is put for the disjunctive *or*, and Matt. xix. 11, where *cannot* is put for *do not*, to the altering of the sense in both instances. Now, though

IV. I will make a further supposition, namely, that you had the certainty even of revelation, as the Calvinists used to pretend they had, that your bible is not only *canonical, authentic and faithful*, in its English garb; yet what would all this avail you, towards establishing your rule of faith, unless you could be equally certain of your *understanding the whole of it rightly*? For, as the learned Protestant bishop Walton says: (1) "The word of God does not consist in mere letters, whether written or printed, but in the true sense of it; (2) which no one can better interpret than the true Church, to which Christ committed this sacred pledge." This is exactly what St. Jerom and St. Augustin had said many ages before him. "Let us be persuaded," says the former, "that the gospel consists not in the words, but in the sense. A wrong explanation turns the word of God into the word of man, and what is worse, into the word of the devil; for the devil himself could quote the text of scripture." (3) Now that there are in scripture *things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest unto their own destruction*, is expressly affirmed in the scripture itself. (4) The same thing is proved by the frequent mistakes of the apostles themselves, with respect to the words of their divine Master. These obscurities are so numberless throughout the sacred volumes, that the last quoted father, who was as bright and learned as divine, as ever took the bible in hand, says of it: "There are more things in Scripture that I am ignorant of, than those I know." (5) Should you prefer a modern Protestant authority to an ancient Catholic one, listen to the clearheaded Balguy. His words are these: "But what, you will reply is all this to Christians? to those who see by a clear and strong light the dispensation of God to mankind? We are not *as those who have no hope. The day-spring from on high hath visited us. The spirit of God shall lead us into all truth.* To this delusive dream of human folly, founded only on mistaken interpretations of scripture, I answer in one

these corruptions stand in direct opposition to the original, as the Rev. Mr. Grier and Dr. Ryan themselves quote it; yet these writers have the confidence to deny they are corruptions, because they pretend to prove from other texts that *the cup is necessary*, and that *continency is not necessary*! . Answer to Ward's Errata, p. 13, page 33.

(1) In the Prolegomena to his Polyglott, cap. v.

(2) This obvious truth shews the extreme absurdity of our bible societies and modern schools, which regard nothing but the mere *reading of the bible*, leaving persons to embrace the most opposite interpretations in the same text.

(3) In Ep. ad Galat. contra Lucif.

(4) 2 Pet. iii. 16.

(5) St. Aug. Ep. ad Juduar.

word: Open your bibles: take the first page that occurs in either testament, and tell me, without disguise, is there nothing in it too hard for your understanding? If you find all before you *clear* and *easy*, you may thank God for giving you a privilege which he has denied to many thousands of sincere believers." (1)

Manifold is the cause of the obscurity of holy writ; 1st, the sublimity of a considerable part of it, which speaks either literally or figuratively of the Deity and his attributes; of the Word incarnate; of angels and other spiritual beings:—2dly, the mysterious nature of prophecy in general:—3dly, the peculiar idioms of the Hebrew and Greek languages:—lastly, the numerous and bold figures of speech, such as allegory, irony, hyperbole, catachresis, antiphrasis, which are so frequent with the sacred penmen, particularly the ancient prophets. (2) I should like to hear any one of those who pretend to find the scripture so easy, attempting to give a clear explanation of the 27th, alias the 68th, psalm; or the last chapter of Ecclesiastes. Is it an easy matter to reconcile certain well-known speeches of each of the holy patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the incommutable precept of truth? I may here notice, among a thousand other such difficulties, that when our Saviour sent his twelve apostles to preach the gospel to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, he told them, according to St. Matthew, x. 10, to *provide neither gold nor silver—neither shoes nor yet staves*; whereas St. Mark, vi. says: *He commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only*.—You may indeed answer, with Chillingworth and bishop Porteus, that whatever obscurities there may be in certain parts of scripture, it is clear in all that is necessary to be known.—But on what authority do these writers ground this maxim? They have none at all; but they *beg the question*, as logicians express it, to extricate themselves from an absurdity, and in so doing they overturn their fundamental rule. They profess to gather their articles of faith and morals from mere scripture: nevertheless, confessing that they understand only a part of it, they presume to make a distinction in it, and to say this part is necessary to be known, the other part is not necessary. But to place this matter in a clearer light, it is obvious that if any articles are particularly necessary to be

(1) Dr. Balguy's Discourses. p. 133.

(2) See examples of these in Bonfrerius's *Præloquia*, and in the *Appendix* to them, at the end of Menochius.

known and believed, they are those which point to the God whom we are to adore, and the moral precepts which we are to observe. Now, is it demonstratively evident, from *mere scripture*, that Christ is God, and to be adored as such? Most modern Protestants of eminence answer *No*; and in defence of their assertion, quote the following among other texts: *The Father is greater than I*, John, xiv. 28; to which the orthodox divines oppose those texts of the same evangelist, *I and the Father are one*, x. 30.—*The Word was God* &c. i. 1.—Again, we find the following among the moral precepts of the Old Testament: *Go thy way; eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a merry heart: for God now accepteth thy works. Let thy garments be always white, and let thy head lack no ointment. Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest, &c.* Eccles. ix. 7, 8, 9. In the New Testament we meet with the following seemingly practical commands, *Swear not at all*, Matt. v. 34. *Call no man father upon earth—neither be you called masters, for one is your Master, Christ.* Ibid. xxiii. 9, 10. *If any man sue thee at law, to take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.* Ibid. v. 40. *Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask him not again.* Luke vi. 33. *When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends nor thy brethren.* Ibid. xiv. 12.—These are a few among hundreds of other difficulties, regarding our moral duties, which, though confronted by other texts, seemingly of a contrary meaning, nevertheless shew that the scripture is not, of itself, demonstratively clear in points of first rate importance, and that the divine law, like human laws, without an authorized interpreter, must ever be a source of doubt and contention.

V. I have said enough concerning the *contentions* among Protestants, I will now, by way of concluding this letter, say a word or two of their *doubts*. In the first place, it is certain, as a learned Catholic controvertist argues, (1) that a person who follows your rule *cannot make an act of faith*, this being, according to your great authority, bishop Pearson, an assent to the revealed articles, with a *certain and full persuasion* of their revealed truth: (2) or, to use the words of your primate, Wake: “When I give my assent to what God has revealed, I do it, not only with a *certain assurance* that what I believe *is true*, but with an *absolute security* that it *cannot be false*.” (3) Now the Protestant, who has nothing

(1) Sheffmacher *Lettres d'un Docteur Cat. a un Gentilhomme Pro'* vol. i. p. 49. (2) On the Creed, p. 15. (3) Principl. of Christ. Rel. p. 27

to trust to but his own talents, in interpreting the books or scripture, especially with all the difficulties and uncertainties which he labours under, according to what I have shewn above, never can rise to this *certain assurance* and *absolute security*, as to what is revealed in scripture. The utmost he can say is: *such and such appears to me, at the present moment, to be the sense of the texts before me*: and, if he is candid, he will add: *but perhaps, upon further consideration, and upon comparing these with other texts, I may alter my opinion*. How far short, dear sir, is such mere opinion from the certainty of faith! I may here refer you to your own experience. Are you accustomed, in reading your bible, to conclude in your own mind, with respect to those points which appear to you most clear: *I believe in these, with a certain assurance of their truth, and an absolute security that they cannot be false*; especially when you reflect that other learned, intelligent, and sincere Christians have understood those passages in quite a different sense from what you do? For my part, having sometimes lived and conversed familiarly with Protestants of this description, and noticed their controversial discourses, I never found one of them absolutely fixed in his mind, for any long time together, as to the whole of his belief. I invite you to make the experiment on the most intelligent and religious Protestant of your acquaintance. Ask him a considerable number of questions, on the most important points of his religion: note down his answers, while they are fresh in your memory. Ask him the same questions, but in a different order, a month afterwards; when, I can almost venture to say, you will be surprised at the difference you will find, between his former and his latter creed. After all, we need not use any other means to discover the state of doubt and uncertainty, in which many of your greatest divines and most profound scriptural students have passed their days than to look into their publications. I shall satisfy myself with citing the pastoral charge of one of them, bishop Watson, to his clergy. Speaking of the Christian doctrines, he says: "I think it safer to tell you, *where they are contained*, than *what they are*. They are contained in the bible, and if, in reading that book, your sentiments concerning the doctrines of Christianity should be different from those of your neighbour, or from *those of the church*, be persuaded on your part, that infallibility appertains as little to you as it does to the church." (1) Can you read

(1) Bishop Watson's Charge to his Clergy, in 1727.

this, my dear sir, without shuddering? If a most learned and intelligent bishop and professor of divinity, as Dr. Watson certainly was, after studying all the scriptures and all the commentators upon them, is forced publicly to confess to his assembled clergy, that *he cannot tell them what the doctrines of Christianity are*, how unsettled must his mind have been! and, of course, how far removed from the assurance of faith! In the next place, how fallacious must that rule of *the mere bible* be, which, while he recommends it to them, he plainly signifies will not lead them to a uniformity of sentiments, one with another, nor even with their church!

There can be no doubt, sir, but those who entertain doubts concerning the truth of their religion in the course of their lives, must experience the same, with redoubled anxiety, at the approach of death. Accordingly there are, I believe, few of our Catholic priests in an extensive ministry, who have not been frequently called in to receive dying Protestants into the Catholic Church, (1) while not a single instance can be produced of a Catholic wishing to die in any other communion than his own. (2) O death, thou great enlightener! O truth-telling death, how powerful art thou in confuting the blasphemies, and dissipating the prejudices of the enemies of God's Church! Taking it for granted, that you, dear sir, have not been without your doubts and fears about the safety of the road in which you are walking to eternity, more particularly in the course of the present controversy, and being anxious, beyond expression, that you should be free from these, when you arrive at the brink of that vast ocean, I cannot do better than address you in the words of the great St. Augustin, to one in your situation: "If you think you have been sufficiently tossed about, and wish to see an end to your anxieties, follow the

(1) A large proportion of those grandees who were the most forward in promoting the Reformation, so called, and among the rest Cromwell, earl of Essex, the king's ecclesiastical vicar, when they came to die, returned to the Catholic Church. This was the case also with Luther's chief protector, the elector of Saxony, the persecuting queen of Navarre, and many other Protestant princes. Some bishops of the established church; for instance, Goodman and Cheyney of Gloucester, and Gordon of Glasgow, probably also Halifax of St. Asaph's, died Catholics. A long list of titled or otherwise distinguished personages, who have either returned to the Catholic faith, or, for the first time, embraced it on their death-beds, in modern times, might be named here, if it were prudent to do so.

(2) This is remarked by Sir Toby Mathews, son of the archbishop of York, Hugh Cressy, canon of Windsor and dean of Laughlin, F. Walsingham and Ant. Ulric duke of Brunswick, all illustrious converts. Also by Beurrier in his *Conferences*, p. 400.

rule of Catholic discipline, which came down to us through the apostles from Christ himself, and which shall descend from us to the latest posterity." (1) Yes, renounce the fatal and foolish presumption of fancying that you can interpret the scripture better than the Catholic Church, aided, as she is, by the tradition of all ages, and the *Spirit of all Truth*. (2) But I mean to treat this latter subject at due length in my next letter. I am, dear sir, &c. JOHN MILNER.

THE TRUE RULE.

LETTER X.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter, and also two others from gentlemen of your society, on what I have written to you concerning the insufficiency of scripture, interpreted by individuals, to constitute a secure rule of faith. From these it is plain that my arguments have produced a considerable sensation in the society; insomuch that I find myself obliged to remind them of the terms on which we mutually entered upon this correspondence; namely, that each one should be at perfect liberty to express his sentiments on the important subject under consideration, without complaint or offence of the other. The strength of my arguments is admitted by you all; yet you all bring invincible objections, as you consider them, from scripture and other sources against them. I think it will render our controversy more simple and clear, if, with your permission, I defer answering these, till after I have said all that I have to say concerning the Catholic Rule of Faith.

The Catholic rule of faith, as I stated before, is not merely *the written word of God*, but *the whole word of God, both written and unwritten*; in other words, *scripture and tradition*, and these *propounded and explained by the Catholic Church*. This implies that we have a *two-fold rule, or law*, and that we have an *interpreter, or judge, to explain it*, and to decide upon it in all doubtful points.

I. I enter upon this subject with observing, that all *written*

(1) De Utilit. Cred. c. 8.

(2) Bossuet, in his celebrated *Conference with Claud*, which produced the conversion of Mlle. Duras, obliged him to confess that, by the Protestant rule, "every artisan and husbandman may and ought to believe that he can understand the scriptures better than all the fathers and doctors of the Church, ancient and modern, put together."

laws necessarily suppose the existence of *unwritten laws*, and indeed depend upon them for their force and authority. Not to run into the depths of ethics and metaphysics on this subject; you know, dear sir, that, in this kingdom, we have *common* or *unwritten law* and *statute* or *written law*, both of them binding; but that the former necessarily precedes the latter. The legislature, for example, makes a written statute, but we must learn beforehand, from the common law, *what constitutes the legislature*, and we must also have learnt from the natural and the divine laws, that *the legislature is to be obeyed in all things which these do not render unlawful*. "The municipal law of England," says Judge Blackstone, "may be divided into *lex non scripta*, the unwritten or common law, and the *lex scripta*, or statute law." (1) He afterwards calls "the common law, the first ground and chief corner-stone of the laws of England. (2) . . . If (he continues) the question arises: *how these customs or maxims are to be known, and by whom their validity are to be determined?* The answer is: *by the judges in the several courts of justice. They are the depositories of the laws, the living oracles, who must decide in all cases of doubt, and who are bound by oath to decide according to the law of the land.*" (3) So absurd is the idea of binding mankind by written laws, *without laying an adequate foundation for the authority of those laws, and without constituting living judges to decide upon them!*

Neither has the Divine Wisdom, in founding the scriptural kingdom of his Church, acted in that inconsistent manner. The Almighty did not send a book, the New Testament, to Christians, and, without so much as establishing the authority of that book, leave them to interpret it, till the end of time, each one according to his own opinions or prejudices. But our blessed Master and Legislator, Jesus Christ, having first demonstrated his own divine legation from his heavenly Father by undeniable miracles, commissioned his chosen apostles, *by word of mouth*, to proclaim and explain, *by word of mouth*, his doctrines and precepts to all nations, promising to be with them in the execution of this office of his heralds and judges, *even to the end of the world*. This implies the power he had given them, of ordaining successors in this office, as they themselves were only to live the ordinary term of human life. True it is, that, during the execution of their commission, he inspired some of them, and of their disciples, to write certain parts of

(1) Comment. on the Laws, Introduct. sect. iii.

(2) Ibid. p. 73, 5th edit.

(3) Ibid. p. 69.

these doctrines and precepts, namely, the canonical gospels and epistles, which they addressed, for the most part, to particular persons and on particular occasions: but these inspired writings by no means rendered void Christ's commission to the apostles and their successors, of *preaching and explaining his word* to the nations, or his promise of *being with them* till the end of time. On the contrary, the inspiration of these very writings is not otherwise known than by the *viva voce* evidence of these depositaries and judges of the revealed truths. This analysis of revealed religion, so conformable to reason and the civil constitution of our country, is proved to be true, by the *written word* itself—by the *tradition and conduct of the apostles*—and by the constant testimony and practice of the fathers and doctors of the Church in all ages.

II. Nothing then, dear sir, is further from the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church than to slight the holy scriptures. So far from this, she had religiously preserved and perpetuated them from age to age, during almost 1500 years before Protestants existed. She has consulted them, and confirmed her decrees from them in her several councils. She enjoins her pastors, whose business it is to instruct the faithful, to read and study them without intermission, knowing that *all scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.* 2 Tim. iii. 16. Finally, she proves her perpetual right to announce and explain the truths and precepts of her divine Founder, by several of the strongest and clearest passages contained in holy writ. (1) Such, for example, is the last commission of Christ, alluded to above: *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all the things whatsoever I have commanded you. And lo! I am with you all days even to the end of the world.* Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. And again. *Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.* Mark, xvi. 15. It is *preaching and teaching* then, that is to say, the *unwritten word*, which Christ has appointed to be the general method of propagating his divine truths; and, whereas he promises to be *with his apostles to the end of the world*, this proves *their authority* in expounding, and that the same authority was to *descend to their legitimate successors* in the sacred ministry; since they themselves were only to live the ordinary

(1) St. Austin uses this argument against the Donatists, "In scripturis discimus Christum, in scripturis discimus Ecclesiam. Si Christum tenetis, quare Ecclesiam non tenetis?"

term of human life. In like manner, the following clear texts prove the authority of the apostles and their successors *for ever*; that is to say, the *authority of the ever living and speaking tribunal of the Church*, in expounding our Saviour's doctrine. *I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may abide with you for ever. The comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name; he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.* John, xiv. 16, 26. St. Paul, speaking of both the unwritten and the written word, puts them upon a level, where he says: *Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the tradition ye have been taught, whether by word or our epistle.* 2 Thess. v. 13. Finally, St. Peter pronounces that *no prophecy of scripture is made by private interpretation.* 2 Pet. i. 20.

III. That the apostles, and the apostolical men whom they formed, followed this method prescribed by their Master, is unquestionable; as we have positive proofs from scripture, as well as from ecclesiastical history, that they did so. St. Mark, after recording the above-cited admonition of *preaching the gospel*, which Christ left to his apostles, adds: *And they went forth and preached everywhere; the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.* Mark, xvi. 20. St. Peter preached throughout Judea and Syria, and last of all in Italy and at Rome; St. Paul throughout Lesser Asia, Greece, and as far as Spain; St. Andrew penetrated into Scythia; St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew into Parthia and India, and so of the others; everywhere converting and instructing thousands *by word of mouth*, founding churches, and ordaining bishops and priests to do the same. *They ordained them priests in every church.* Acts, xiv. 22. *For this cause,* says St. Paul to Titus, *I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things that are wanting, and shouldst ordain priests in every city, as I had appointed thee.* Tit. i. 5. And to Timothy: *The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to those faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.* 2 Tim. ii. 2. If any of them wrote, it was on some particular occasion, and, for the most part, to a particular person, or congregation, without either giving directions, or providing means of communicating their epistles or their gospels to the rest of the Christians throughout the world. Hence it happened, as I have before remarked, that it was not till the end of the fourth century, that the canon of holy scriptures was absolutely settled as it now stands. True it is, that the apostles, before they so

pared to preach the gospel to different nations, agreed upon a short symbol or profession of faith, called the *Apostles' Creed*; but even this they did not commit to writing; (1) and whereas they made this, among other articles of it, *I believe in the holy Church*, (2) *they made no mention at all of the holy scriptures*. This circumstance confirms what their example proves, that the Christian doctrine and discipline might have been propagated and preserved by the *unwritten word*, or TRADITION, joined with the authority of the Church, though the scriptures had not been composed; however *profitable* these most certainly are *for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness*. 2 Tim. ii 16. I have already quoted one of the ornaments of your church, who says, that "the canonical epistles (and he might have added the gospels) are not regular treatises upon the Christian religion, (3) and I shall have occasion to shew from an ancient father, that this religion did prevail and flourish soon after the age of the apostles, among nations which did not even know the use of letters.

IV. However light Protestants of this age may make of the ancient fathers as *theological authorities*, (4) they cannot object to them as *faithful witnesses* of the doctrine and discipline of the Church in their respective times. It is chiefly in the latter character that I am going to bring forward a certain number of them, to prove that, during the five first ages of the Church, no less than in the subsequent ages, the unwritten word, or tradition, was held by her in equal estimation with the scripture itself, and that she claimed a divine right of propounding and explaining them both.

I begin with the disciple of the apostles, St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch. It is recorded of him, that in his passage to Rome, where he was sentenced to be devoured by wild beasts, he exhorted the Christians, who got access to him, "to guard themselves against the rising heresies, and to adhere with the utmost firmness to the *tradition of the apostles*." (5) The

(1) Ruffin. inter Opera Hieron. (2) The title *Catholic* was afterwards added, when heresies increased. (3) Elements of Theology, vol. ii.

(4) Jewel, Andrews, Hooker, Morton, Pearson, and other Protestant divines of the 16th and 17th centuries, laboured hard to press the fathers into their service, but with such bad success, that the succeeding controversialists gave them up in despair. The learned Protestant, Causabon, confessed that the fathers were all on the Catholic side; the equally learned Obrecht testifies that, in reading their works, "he was frequently provoked to throw them on the ground, finding them so full of Popery:" while Middleton heaps every kind of obloquy upon them.

(5) Euseb. Hist. l. iii. c. 30.

same sentiments appear in this saint's epistles, and also in those of his fellow-martyr, St. Polycarp, *the angel of the church of Smyrna.* (1)

One of the disciples of the last-mentioned holy bishops was St. Irenæus, who, passing into Gaul, became bishop of Lyons. He has left twelve books against the heresies of his time, which abound with testimonies to the present purpose; some few of which I shall here insert. He writes: "Nothing is easier to those who seek for the truth, than to remark in every church *the tradition* which the apostles have manifested to all the world. We can name the bishops appointed by the apostles in the several churches, and the successors of those bishops down to our own time, none of whom ever taught or heard of such doctrines as these heretics dream of." (2) This holy father emphatically affirms, that, "in explaining the scriptures, Christians are to attend to the *pastors of the Church*, who, by the ordinance of God, have *received the inheritance of truth* with the succession of their sees." (3) He adds, "The tongues of nations vary, but the virtue of *tradition* is *one and the same* everywhere; nor do the churches in Germany believe or teach differently from those in Spain, Gaul, the East, Egypt, or Lybia. (4) . . . Since it would be tedious to enumerate the succession of all the churches, we appeal to the faith and tradition of the greatest, most ancient, and best known church, that of Rome, founded by the apostles, SS. Peter and Paul; for with this church all others agree, in as much as in her is preserved the tradition which comes down from the apostles. (5) **SUPPOSING THE APOSTLES HAD NOT LEFT US THE SCRIPTURES, OUGHT WE NOT STILL TO HAVE FOLLOWED THE ORDINANCE OF TRADITION,** which they consigned to those to whom they committed the churches? It is this ordinance of *tradition* which many nations of barbarians believing in Christ follow, without the use of letters or ink." (6)

Tertullian, who flourished 200 years after the Christian era, has left us, among his other works, one of the same nature, and almost the same title with that last cited. In this, speaking of the contemporary heretics, he says: "They meddle with the scriptures, and adduce arguments from them: for, in treating of faith, they *pretend* that they ought not to argue upon any other ground than the *written* documents of faith:—thus they weary the firm, catch the weak, and fill the middle sort with doubt. We begin, therefore, with laying it

(1) Revel. ii. 8.

(2) Advers. Hæres. l. iii. c. 5.

(3) L. iv. c. 43.

(4) L. i. c. 3.

(5) L. iii. c. 2.

(6) L. iv. c. 54.

down as a maxim, that these men ought not to be allowed to argue at all from scripture. In fact, these disputes about the sense of scripture have generally no other effect than to disorder either the stomach or brain. It is, therefore, the wrong method to appeal to the scriptures, since these afford either no decision, or, at most, only a doubtful one. And even, if these were not the case, still, in appealing to scripture, the natural order of things requires that we should first inquire to whom the scriptures belong? From whom, and by whom, and on what occasion, and to whom that *tradition* was delivered by which we became Christians? For where the truth of Christian discipline and faith is found, there is the truth of scripture, and of the interpretation of it, and of all Christian traditions." (1) He elsewhere says: "That doctrine is evidently true which was first delivered: on the contrary, that is false which is of a later date. This maxim stands immovable against the attempts of all late heresies. Let such then produce the origin of their churches: let them shew the succession of their bishops from the apostles, or their disciples. If you live near Italy, you see before your eyes the Roman church, happy church! to which the apostles have left the inheritance of their doctrine with their blood! where Peter was crucified, like his Master; where Paul was beheaded, like the Baptist! If this be so, it is plain, as we have said, that heretics are not to be allowed to appeal to scripture, since they have no claim to it. Hence it is proper to address them as follows:—*Who are you? Whence do you come? What business have you strangers with my property? By what right are you, Marcion, felling my trees? By what right are you, Valentine, turning the course of my streams? Under what pretence are you, Appelles, removing my land-marks? The estate is mine. I have the ancient, the prior possession of it. I have the title deeds delivered to me by the original proprietors. I am the heir of the apostles; they have made their will in my favour; while they disinherited and cast you off, as strangers and enemies.*" (2) In another of his works (3) this eloquent father proves, at great length, the absolute necessity of admitting *tradition* no less than *scripture* as the rule of faith, inasmuch as many important points, which he mentions, cannot be proved without it.

I pass by other shining lights of the third century, such as St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Cyprian, Origen, &c. all of

(1) *Præscrip. Advers. Hæres.* edit. Rhenan, pp. 36, 37. (2) *Ibid.* pp.

(3) *De Corona Milit.*

whom place apostolic tradition on a level with scripture, and describe the Church as the expounder of them both: I must however give the following words from the last named great biblical scholar. He says: "We are not to credit those, who, by citing real canonical scripture, seem to say: *behold the word is in your houses*: for we are not to desert our *first ecclesiastical tradition*, nor to believe otherwise than as the churches of God have, in their perpetual succession, delivered to us"

Among the numerous and illustrious witnesses of the fourth age, I shall be content with citing St. Basil and St. Epiphanius. The former says: "There are many doctrines preserved and preached in the Church, derived partly from written documents, partly from apostolical *tradition*, which have equally *the same force* in religion, and which no one contradicts who has the least knowledge of the Christian laws." (1) The last quoted of these fathers says, with equal brevity and force: "We must make use of *tradition*: for all things are not to be found in scripture." (2)

St. John Chrysostom flourished at the beginning of the fifth century, and though he strongly recommends the reading of the holy scriptures; yet, expounding the text, 2 *Thess.* ii. 14. he says: "Hence it is plain that the apostles did not deliver to us every thing by their epistles, but many things without writing. These are equally worthy of belief. Hence let us regard the tradition of the Church as the subject of our belief. Such and such a thing *is a tradition: seek no farther.*" (3) It would fill a large volume to transcribe all the passages which occur in the works of the great St. Augustine, in proof of the Catholic rule, and the authority of the Church in making use of it: let therefore two or three of them speak for the rest. "To attain to the *truth of the scriptures*," he says, "we must follow the sense of them entertained by the universal Church, to which the scriptures themselves bear testimony. True it is, the scriptures themselves cannot deceive us; nevertheless, to prevent our being deceived in the question we examine by them, it is necessary we should advise with that Church which these certainly and evidently point out to us." (4) "This (the unlawfulness of rebaptizing heretics) is not evidently read either by you or me; nevertheless, if there were any wise man, to whom Christ had borne testimony, and whom he had appointed to be consulted on

(1) In Lib. de Spir. Sanct. (2) De Hæres, N. 61.

(3) Παράδοσις εστίν, μηδεν πλέον ζητει. (4) L. i. contra Crescon.

he question, we could not fail to do so: now Christ bears this testimony to his Church. Whoever, therefore, refuses to follow the practice of the Church, resists Christ himself, who by his testimony recommends this Church.² (1) Treating elsewhere the same subject, he says: "The apostles indeed have prescribed nothing about this; but the custom must be considered as derived from their tradition, since there are many things observed by the universal Church, which are justly held to have been appointed by the apostles, though they are not written." (2) It seems doing an injury to St. Vincent of Lerins, who lived at the end of the fifth century, to quote a part of his celebrated *Commonitorium*, when the whole of it is so admirably calculated to refute the false rule of heretics, condemned in the foregoing testimonies, and to prove the Catholic rule here laid down: still I cannot refrain from transcribing a very small portion of it. "It is asked," says this father, "as the scripture is perfect, what need is there of the authority of the Church doctrine? The reason is, because the scripture, being so profoundly deep, is not understood by all persons in the same sense, but different persons explain it different ways; so that there are almost as many meanings as there are readers of it. Novatian interprets it in one sense, Photinus in another, Arius, &c. in another. Therefore it is requisite that the true road of expounding the prophets and apostles must be marked out, according to the ecclesiastical Catholic line. It never was, or is, or will be lawful for Catholic Christians to teach any doctrine, except that which they once received; and it ever was, and is, and will be their duty to condemn those who do so. Do the heretics then appeal to the scriptures? Certainly they do, and this with the utmost confidence. You will see them running hastily through the different books of holy writ, those of Moses, Kings, the Psalms, the Gospels, &c. At home and abroad, in their discourses and in their writings, they hardly produce a sentence which is not larded with the words of scripture, &c.; but they are so much the more to be dreaded, as they conceal themselves under the veil of the divine laws. Let us however remember that satan transformed himself into an angel of light. If he could turn the scriptures against the Lord of Majesty, what use may he not make of them against us poor mortals! If, then, satan and his disciples, the heretics, are capable of thus perverting holy scripture, how are Catholics, the children of the Church,

(1) De Util. Credend.

(2) De Bapt. contra Donat. l. 7.

to make use of them, so as to discern truth from falsehood? They must carefully observe the rule laid down at the beginning of this treatise by the holy and learned men I referred to: **THEY ARE TO INTERPRET THE DIVINE TEXT ACCORDING TO THE TRADITION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.**" (1)

It would be as easy to prove this rule of faith from the fathers of the sixth as of the former centuries; particularly from St. Gregory the great, that holy pope, who, at the close of this century, sent missionaries from Rome to convert our Pagan ancestors: but, I am sure, you will think that evidence enough has been brought, to shew that the ancient fathers of the Church, from the very time of the apostles, held this *whole rule of faith*, namely, the word of God, *unwritten as well as written*, together with *the living speaking tribunal of the Church*, to preserve and interpret both the one and the other. I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

THE TRUE RULE.

LETTER XI.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—The infinite importance of determining with ourselves, which is the right rule or method of discovering religious truth, must be admitted by all thinking Christians: as it is evident that this rule alone can conduct them to truth, and that a false rule is capable of conducting them into all sorts of errors. It is equally clear, why all those, who are bent upon deserting the Catholic Church, reject her rule, that of the *whole word of God*, together with her *living authority*, in explaining it; for, while this rule and this authority are acknowledged, there can be no heresy or schism among Christians; as whatever points of religion are not clear from scripture are supplied and illustrated by tradition, and as the pastors of the Church, who possess this authority, are always living, and ready to declare what is the sense of scripture, and what the tradition, on each contested point, which they have received in succession from the apostles. The only resource, therefore, of persons resolved to follow their own or their forefathers particular opinions or practices,

(1) Vincent *Lexicon Commonit. Advers. Hæ.* edit. Baluz.

in matters of religion, with the exception of the enthusiast, has been in all times, both ancient and modern, to appeal to mere scripture, which being a *dead letter*, leaves them at liberty to explain it as they will.

I. And yet, with all their repugnance to tradition and church authority, Protestants have found themselves absolutely obliged, in many instances, to admit of them both. It has been demonstrated above, that they are obliged to admit of tradition in order to admit of scripture itself. Without this, they can neither know that there are any writings at all dictated by God's inspiration, nor which, in particular, these writings are, (1) nor what versions or publications of them are genuine. But as this matter has been sufficiently elucidated, I proceed to other points of religion, which Protestants receive either without the *authority* of scripture, or in opposition to the *letter* of it.

The first precept in the bible is that of sanctifying the seventh day. *God blessed the SEVENTH DAY, and sanctified it.* Gen. ii. 3. This precept was confirmed by God in the ten commandments: *Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. The SEVENTH DAY is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God.* Exod. xx. On the other hand, Christ declares that he is *not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it.* Matt. v. 17. He himself observed the Sabbath: *and, as his custom was, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath-day:* Luke, iv. 16. His disciples likewise observed it after his death. *They rested on the Sabbath-day, according to the commandment.* Luke, xxiii. 56. Yet with all this weight of scripture authority for keeping the *Sabbath* or *Seventh-day* holy, Protestants of all denominations make this a *profane day*, and transfer the obligation of it to the *first day of the week*, or the *Sunday*. Now what authority have they for doing this? None whatever, except the *unwritten word*, or *tradition* of the Catholic Church; which declares that the apostles made the change in honour of Christ's resurrection and the descent of the Holy Ghost on that day of the week. Then, with respect to the manner of keeping that day holy, their universal doctrine and practice are no less at variance with the sacred text. The Almighty says: *From even unto even shall you celebrate*

(1) Amongst all the learned Protestants of this age, Dr. Porteus is the only one who pretends to discern scripture, "partly on account of its own reasonableness, and the characters of divine wisdom in it." *Brief Confut.* p. 9. I could have wished to ask his lordship, whether it is by these characters that he has discovered the *Canticle* or *Song of Solomon* to be inspired scripture?

your Sabbath, Levit. xxiii. 32, which is the practice of the Jews down to the present time; but not of any Protestants that ever I heard of. Again, it is declared in scripture to be unlawful to dress victuals on that day, *Exod.* xvi. 23, or even to make a fire, *Exod.* xxxv. 3. Again, where is there a precept in the whole scripture more express than that against eating blood? God said to Noah: *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat to you—but flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat.* Gen. ix. 4. This prohibition we know was confirmed by Moses, *Levit.* xvii. 11. *Deut.* xii, 23, and by the apostles, and was imposed upon the Gentiles who were converted to the faith. *Acts*, xv. 20. Nevertheless, where is the religious Protestant who scruples to eat gravy with his meat, or puddings made of blood? At the same time if he be asked: *Upon what authority* do you act in contradiction to the express words of both the Old and the New Testament? he can find no other answer than that he has learned, from the *tradition of the Church*, that the prohibition was only *temporary*. I will confine myself to one more instance of Protestants abandoning *their own rule*, that of scripture alone, to follow *ours*, of scripture explained by tradition, If an intelligent Pagan who had carefully perused the New Testament were asked, which of the ordinances mentioned in it is most explicitly and strictly enjoined? I make no doubt but he would answer, that it is *the washing of feet*. To convince yourself of this, be pleased to read the first seventeen verses of St. John, c. xiii. Observe *the motive* assigned for Christ's performing the ceremony there recorded; namely, his "love for his disciples:" next, *the time* of his performing it; namely, when he was about to depart out of this world: then observe *the stress* he lays upon it, in what he said to Peter: *if I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me*: finally, *his injunction*, at the conclusion of the ceremony: *If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet*. I now ask, on what pretence can those, who profess to make *scripture alone* the rule of their religion, totally disregard this institution and precept? Had this ceremony been observed in the Church, when Luther and the other first Protestants began to dogmatize, there is no doubt but they would have retained it: but, having learnt from her that it was only figurative, they acquiesced in this decision, contrary to what appears to be the plain sense of scripture.

II. I asserted that Protestants find themselves obliged not only to adopt the rule of our Church, on many the most im-

portant subjects, but also to *claim her authority*. It is true, as a late dignitary of the establishment observes, (1) that, "When Protestants first withdrew from the communion of the Church of Rome, the principles they went upon were such as these: Christ, by his gospel hath called all men to *the liberty*, the glorious liberty, *of the sons of God*, and restored them to the privilege of working out their own salvation by their own understanding and endeavours. For this work sufficient means are afforded in the scripture, without having recourse to the doctrines and commandments of men. Consequently faith and conscience, having no dependence upon man's laws, are not to be compelled by man's authority." What now was the consequence of this fundamental rule of Protestantism? Why, that endless variety of doctrine, errors, and impieties, mentioned above; followed by those tumults, wars, rebellions, and that anarchy, with which the history of every country is filled, which embraced the new religion. It is readily supposed that the princes and other rulers of those countries, ecclesiastical as well as civil, however hostile they might be to the ancient Church, would wish to restrain these disorders and make their subjects adopt the same sentiments with themselves. Hence, in every Protestant state, articles of religion and confessions of faith, differing from one another, but each agreeing with the opinion of the princes and rulers of the state for the time being, were enacted by law, and enforced by excommunication, deprivation, exile, imprisonment, torture, and death. Their latter punishments indeed, however frequently they were exercised by Protestants against Protestants, as well as against Catholics, during the 16th and 17th centuries, (2) have not been resorted to during the last hundred years; but the terrible sentence of excommunication, which includes outlawry, even now hangs over the head of every Protestant bishop, as well as other clergymen in this country, (3) who shall interpret those passages of the gospel concerning Jesus Christ in the sense which, it appears from their writings, a number of them entertain; and none of them can take possession of a living, without subscribing to the 39 articles, and publicly declaring his

(1) Archdeacon Blackburn in his celebrated Confessional, p. 1.

(2) See the Letter on the *Reformation* and on *Persecution* in *Letters to a Prebendary*. See also Neal's History of the Puritans, Delaune's Narrative, Jewell's History of the Quakers, &c.

(3) See many excommunicating canons, and particularly one A.D. 1640, against "the damnable and cursed heresy of Socinianism," as it is termed, in bishop Sparrow's Collection.

unfeigned assent and consent to them, and to every thing contained in the book of Common Prayer. (1) Thus, by adopting a false rule of religion, thinking Protestants are reduced to the cruel extremity of palpable contradiction! They cannot give up the "glorious liberty," as it is called above, of explaining the bible each one for himself, without at once giving up their cause to the Catholics; and they cannot adhere to it, without many of the above mentioned fatal consequences, and without the speedy dissolution of their respective churches. Impatient of the constraint they are under, in being obliged to sign articles of faith which they do not believe, many able clergymen of the establishment have written strongly against them, and have even petitioned parliament to be relieved from the alleged *grievance* of subscribing to the professed doctrine of their own church. (2) On the other hand, the legislature foreseeing the consequences which would result from the removal of the obligation, have always rejected their prayer; and the judges have even refused to admit the following *salvo* in addition to the subscription: "I assent and consent to the articles and the book. *as far as these are agreeable to the word of God.*" (3) In these straits, many of the most able, as well as the most respectable, of the established clergy have been reduced to such sophistry and casuistry, as to move the pity of their very opponents. One of these, the Norrisian professor of divinity at Cambridge, (4) as one way of excusing his brethren for subscribing to articles which they do not believe, cites the example of the divines at Geneva, where, he says, a complete *tacit reformation* seems to have taken place. The Genevese have now, in fact, quitted their Calvinistic doctrines, though, *in form*, they retain them. When the minister is admitted, he takes an oath of assent to the scriptures, and professes to teach them *according to the catechism of Calvin*, but this last clause about Calvin, *he makes a separate business*; speaking lower, or altering his position, or speaking after a considerable interval." (5) Such a change of posture or tone of voice in the swearer, our learned professor considers as sufficient to excuse him from the guilt of prevarication, in swearing contrary to the plain meaning of his oath! It is not, however, intimated that the professor himself has recourse to this ex-

(1) 1st Eliz. cap. 2. 14 Car. II. c. 4. Item Canon 36 et 38

(2) There was such a petition signed by a great number of clergymen, and supported by many others in 1772. (3) See Confessional, p. 183.

(4) Lectures in Divinity, delivered in the University of Cambridge, by J. Hey, D. D. as Norrisian Professor, 1797, vol. ii. p. 57. (5) Ibid.

pedient. his particular system is, that "the church of England, like that of Geneva, has of late undergone a complete *tacit reformation* (1) and hence that the sense of its articles of faith is to be determined by *circumstances*." (2) 'Thus,' he adds, (referring, I presume, to the statutes of King's college, Cambridge) "the oath, 'I will say so many masses for the soul of Henry VI.' may come to mean, I will perform the religious duties required of me!!" (3) The celebrated moralist, Dr. Paley, justifies a departure from the original sense of the articles of religion subscribed, by an *INCONVENIENCE which is manifest and beyond all doubt!!* (4) Archdeacon Powell, master of St. John's college, defends the English clergy from the charge of subscribing to what they do not believe, because, he says, "The crime is impossible: as that cannot be the sense of the declaration which no one imagines to be its sense; nor can that interpretation be erroneous which all have received!" (5) And yet such prelates as Secker, Horsley, Cleaver, Pretymen, with all the Judges, strongly maintain that the literal meaning of the articles must be strictly adhered to!

I could cite many other dignitaries or leading clergymen of the establishment, and nearly the whole host of Dissenters, who have recourse to such quibbles and evasions, in order to get rid of the plain sense of the articles and creeds to which they have solemnly engaged themselves before the Creator, as, I am convinced, they would not make use of in any contract with a fellow-creature: but I hasten to take in hand the admired discourses of my friend, Dr. Balguy. He was the champion, the very Achilles, of those who defended the subscription of the Thirty-nine articles against the petitioners for the abrogation of it in 1772. And how, think you, dear sir, did he defend it? Not by vindicating the truth of the articles themselves; much less by any of the quibbles mentioned or alluded to above; but upon the principle that an exterior shew of uniformity in the ministers of religion is necessary for the support of it; and that, therefore, they ought to subscribe and teach the doctrine prescribed to them by the law, whatever they may inwardly think of it. Thus it was that he, and many of his friends, imagined it possible to unite religious liberty

(1) Lectures in Divinity, p. 48, (particularly in its approach to Socinianism, from which he signifies it is divided only by a few "unmeaning words.") (2) Ibid. p. 49. (3) P. 63.

(4) Moral and Polit. Philos. Not having this work, or Dr. Powell's Sermon at hand, I here quote from Overton's *True Churchman*, p. 337.

(5) Sermon on Subscrip.

with ecclesiastical restrictions. But I will give you the archdeacon's own words, in one of his charges to the clergy. "The articles, we will say, are not exactly *what we might wish them to be*. Some of them are expressed in *doubtful terms*; others are *inaccurate*, perhaps *unphilosophical*; others again may chance to *mislead* an ignorant reader into some *erroneous opinions*:(1) but is there any one among them that leads to *immorality*? Is there one in the number that will make us *revengeful or cruel*?" &c. (2) On this principle you might in the eastern world conscientiously swear your assent and consent to the fables of the Koran or the Vedam!! But to proceed; he says, "Nothing is clearer than that the *uniform appearance* of religion is the cause of its general and easy reception. Destroy this uniformity, and you cannot but introduce doubt and perplexity into the minds of the people." (3) Again, he says, "I am far from wishing to discourage the clergy of the established church from thinking for themselves, or from speaking what they think, nor even from writing. I say nothing against the right of private judgment or speech, I only contend that men ought not to attack the church from those very pulpits in which they were placed for her defence." (4) What is this doctrine of the subscription-champion, dear sir, I appeal to you, but a defence of the most vile and sacrilegious hypocrisy that can possibly be imagined? He leaves the clergy at liberty to *disbelieve in*, to *talk*, and even to *write against the doctrine of their church*, but requires them *in the pulpit to defend it!* I agree with him, that contradictory doctrines, publicly maintained by ministers of the same religion, serve greatly to make the adherents of it renounce it entirely; but will not that effect more certainly follow from the people discovering, as they must in the case supposed discover, that their clergy *do not themselves believe in the doctrines which they preach!*

But this system of deceiving the people is not peculiar to Dr. Balguy; it is avowed by his friend and master, bishop Hoadly, and represented by archdeacon Blackburn, from whom I take the following passage, as being very generally

(1) Which articles they are that the doctor particularly objects to, we can easily gather from his general language concerning mysteries, the sacraments, and our redemption by Christ. On this last head, he seriously cautions us against "censuring or persecuting our brethren because their *nonsense* and our's wears a different dress." Charge ii. p. 192.

(2) Charge vi. p. 293.

(3) Charge v. p. 257.

(4) Disc. vii. p. 120. Discourses by Thomas Balguy, D. D. Archdeacon and Prebendary of Winchester, &c. dedicated to the King. Lockyer Davies, 1785.

adopted. (1) "In all proposals and schemes to be reduced to practice," the bishop says, "we must suppose the world to be *what it is, and not what it ought to be*. We must propose, not merely what is absolutely good in itself, but what is so with respect to the prejudices, tempers, and constitutions, we know and are sure to be among us. It is represented that the world was never less disposed to be serious and reasonable than at this period. Religious reflection, we are informed, is not the *humour* of the times. We are therefore advised to keep our prudence and our patience a little longer; to wait till our people are in a better temper, and, in the mean time, to bear with their manners and disposition; *gently and gradually correcting their foolish actions and habits; but still taking care not to throw in more light upon them, at once, than the weak optics of men, so long used to sit in darkness, are able to bear*." His lordship's words are guarded, but perfectly intelligible. Bishop Hoadly had undermined the church he professed to support in her doctrine and discipline, as has been elsewhere demonstrated, (2) and he wished all the clergy to co-operate in diffusing his Socinian system; but he advised them to attempt this *gently and gradually*, bearing with the people's *foolish notions*, and not *throwing too much light upon them at once*: in other words, continuing to subscribe the articles and preach them from the pulpit, being at the same time inwardly persuaded that they are not only *false*, but also *foolish*! I will add not only *foolish*, but also *impious* and idolatrous, namely, by worshipping Christ as *God*, whom the subscriber believes to be merely *man*. Thus, dear sir, you have seen the necessity to which the different Protestant societies have found themselves reduced, of occasionally appealing to tradition, and of assuming authority to dictate confessions and articles of religion, in direct violation of their boasted charter of private judgment; and you have seen that this inconsistency has rendered the *remedy worse than the disease*. These weapons not being natural to them, have been turned against them, and have mortally wounded them: and the "Church of England in particular," as one of its principal defenders complains, "is like an oak cleft to shivers with one of the wedges made out of its own body." (3) You will now see with what ease and success the Catholic Church wields these weapons; but first, think it best to add something by way of confirming and elucidating this Catholic rule.

(1) Confessional, p. 375, p. 385.
Art. Hoadlyism.

(2) Letters to a Prebendary.

(3) Daubeny's Guide to the Church Append.

III. What has been said above in proof of the Catholic rule, namely, that Christ established it when he sent his apostles to preach the gospel, and that the apostles followed it, when they established churches throughout different nations, is so incontestible as not to be denied by any of our learned opponents: still less will they deny that the ancient fathers and doctors of the Church in every age maintained this rule. Accordingly, one of the latest and most learned Protestant controvertists writes thus: "No one will deny that Jesus Christ laid the foundation of his church *by preaching*: nor can we deny that *the unwritten word was the first rule of Christianity*. (1) This being granted, it was incumbent on his lordship to demonstrate, and this by no less an authority than that which established the rule, at which precise period it was abrogated. Was it when this gospel or that gospel, when this epistle or that epistle, was written, though known only to particular congregations or persons? Was it then that the pastors of the Church lost their authority of proclaiming, *So we have received from the apostles, or the disciples of the apostles: so all the other pastors of the Catholic Church believe and teach?* Or was this abrogation of the *first rule of Christianity* deferred till the canon of scripture was fixed at the end of the fourth century? So far from there being divine authority, there is not even a hint in ecclesiastical history on which to ground this pretended alteration in the rule of faith. His lordship's only foundation is his *own conjecture*: "It is extremely *improbable*," he says, "*that an all-wise Providence*, in imparting a new revelation to mankind, would suffer any doctrine or article of faith to be transmitted to posterity by so precarious a vehicle as that of oral tradition." (2) The bishop of London (3) had before said nearly the same thing, as well with respect to tradition being the *original rule*, as to the *improbability* of its continuing to be so, "considering," as he says, "how liable the easiest story, transmitted by word of mouth, is to be essentially altered in the course of one or two hundred years." But, to the *opinions* of these learned prelates, I oppose, in the first place, undeniable *facts*. It is, then, certain, that the whole doctrine and practice of religion, including the rites of sacrifice, and, indeed the whole sacred history, was preserved by the patriarchs, in succession, from Adam down to Moses, during a space of 2400 years, by means of tradition: and, when the law was written, many most important truths regarding a future life, the emblems and pro-

(1) *Comparative View of the Churches*, p. 61, by Dr. (now bishop) Marsh.

(2) P. 67.

(3) Dr. Porteus, *Brief. Conf.*

phesies concerning the Messiah, and the inspiration and authenticity of the sacred books themselves, were preserved in the same way. Secondly, it is unwarrantable in these prelates, to compare the essential traditions of religion with ordinary stories. In the truth of these no one has an interest, and no means have been provided to preserve them from corruption; whereas, *the faith once delivered to the saints*, the Church has ever guarded as *the apple of her eye*; and all ecclesiastical history witnesses the extreme care and pains which in ancient times were taken by the pastors to instruct the faithful in the tenets and practices of their religion, previously to their being baptized. (1) The same are generally taken by their successors previously to the confirmation and first communion of their neophytes at the present day. Thirdly, when any fresh controversy arises in the Church, the fundamental maxims of the bishops and popes, to whom it belongs to decide upon it, is, not to consult their own private opinion or interpretation of scripture, but to inquire *what is and what ever has been the doctrine of the Church* concerning it. Hence their cry is and ever has been on such occasions, as well in councils as out of it: *So we have received: so the universal Church believes: let there be no new doctrine: none but what has been delivered down to us by tradition.* (2) Fourthly, the tradition, of which we now treat, is *not a local* but an *universal* tradition, as widely spread as the Catholic Church itself is, and everywhere found the same. The maxim of the sententious Tertullian must be admitted: "Error," he says, "of course varies, but that doctrine which is one and the same among many, is not an error but a tradition." (3) However liable men, and particularly illiterate men, are to believe in fables; yet if, on the discovery of America, the inhabitants of it, from Hudson's bay to cape Horn, had been found to agree in the same account of their origin and general history, we should certainly give credit to them. But fifthly, in the present case, they are not the *Catholics* alone of different ages and nations who vouch for the traditions in question, I mean those rejected by Protestants, but all the subsisting heretics and schismatics of former ages without exception. The Nestorians and Eutychians, for example, deserted the Catholic Church in defence of opposite errors, near 1400 years ago, and still form regular churches under bishops and pa-

(1) See Fleury's Mœurs de Chret. Hartley in B. Watson's Col. vol. v. p. 91. (2) "Nil innovetur: nil nisi quod traditum est." Steph. Papa 1.

(3) "Variasse deberet error, sed quod unum anud multos invenimus, non est erratum, sed traditum." Præscrip. advers. Hæret.

triarchs throughout the east: in like manner the Greek schismatics, properly so called, broke off from the Latin Church, in the eleventh century. Theirs is well known to be the prevailing religion of Christians throughout the Turkish and Russian empires. Nevertheless, these and all the other Christian sectaries of ancient date, in every article in dispute between Catholics and Protestants (except that concerning the pope's supremacy) agree with the former, and condemn the latter. (1) Let Dr. Porteus and the other controvertists, who declaim against the alleged ignorance and vices of the Catholic clergy and laity during the five or six ages preceding the Reformation, and pretend to shew how the tenets which they object to might have been introduced into *our* Church, explain how precisely the same could have been quietly received by the Nestorians at Bagdad, the Eutychians at Alexandria, and the Russian Greeks at Moscow! All these, and particularly the last named, were ever ready to find fault with us upon subjects of a comparatively small consequence, such as the use of unleavened bread in the sacrament, the days and manner of fasting, and even the mode of shaving our beards; and yet, so far from objecting to the pretended novelties of prayer for the dead, addresses to the saints, the mass, the real presence, &c. they have always professed, and continue to profess, these doctrines and practices as zealously as we do.

Finally, by way of further answer to his lordship's shameful calumny, that the ancient "clergy and laity were so universally and monstrously ignorant and vicious, that nothing was too bad for them to do, or too absurd for them to believe," thereby insinuating that the former invented, and the latter were duped into, the belief of the articles on which the Catholic Church and the Church of England are divided; as also by way of further confirming the certainty of tradition, I maintain that it would be much easier for the ancient clergy to corrupt the scriptures than the religious belief of the people. For, it is well known that the scriptures were chiefly in the hands of the clergy, and that, before the use of printing in the fifteenth century, the copies of them were renewed and multiplied in the monasteries by the labour of the monks, who, if they had been so wicked, might with some prospect of success, have attempted to alter the New Testament in particular as they pleased: whereas, the doctrines and practices of the Church were in the hands of the people of all civilized nations, and therefore could not be altered without their knowledge

(4) See the proofs of this in the *Perpetua: de la Foi* copied from the original documents in the French king's library.

and consent. Hence, wherever religious novelties were introduced, a violent opposition to them, and of course tumults and schisms, would have ensued. If they had been generally received in one country, as for example in France, this would have been the occasion of their being rejected with redoubled antipathy in a neighbouring hostile nation, as for instance in England. Yet none of these disturbances or schisms do we read of, respecting any of the doctrines or practices of our religion, objected to by Protestants, either in the same kingdom, or among the different states of Christianity. I said that the doctrine and practices of religion were in the hands of all "people." In fact, they were all, in every part of the Church, obliged to receive the holy sacrament at Easter; now they could not do this without knowing whether they had been previously taught to consider this as *bread and wine taken in memory of Christ*, or as the *real body and blood of Christ* himself. If they had originally held the former opinion, could they have been persuaded or dragooned into the latter, without violent opposition on their part and violent persecution on that of the clergy? Again, they could not assist at the religious services performed at the funerals of their relations, or on the festivals of the saints, without recollecting whether they had previously been instructed *to pray for the former, and to invoke the prayers of the latter*. If they had not been so instructed, would they, one and all, at the same time and in every country, have quietly yielded to the first impostors who preached up such supposed superstitions to them, as, in this case, we are sure they must have done? In a word, there is but one way of accounting for alleged alterations in the doctrine of the Church; that mentioned by the learned Dr. Bailey; (1) which is to suppose that, on some one night, all the Christians of the world went to sleep sound Protestants and awoke next morning rank Papists.

IV. I now come to consider the benefits derived from the Catholic rule or method of religion. The first part of this rule conducts us to the second part; that is to say, tradition conducts us to scripture. We have seen that Protestants, by their own confession, are obliged to build the latter upon the former, in doing which they act most inconsistently; whereas Catholics, in doing the same thing, act with perfect consistency. Again, Protestants in building scripture as they do upon tradition, as a mere human testimony, not as a *rule of faith*, can

(1) He was son of the bishop of Bangor, and becoming a convert to the Catholic Church, wrote several works in her defence: and among the rest, one under the title of these letters, and another called *A Challenge*.

only form an act of *human faith*, that is to say, *an opinion* of its being inspired; (1) whereas Catholics, believing in the tradition of the Church as a *divine rule*, are enabled to believe in the scripture with a *firm faith*, as the certain word of God. Hence the Catholic Church requires her pastors, who are to preach and expound the word of God, to study this second part of her rule, no less than the first part, with unremitting diligence; and she encourages those of her flock, who are properly qualified and disposed, to read it for their edification.

In perusing the books of the Old Testament, some of the most striking passages are those which regard the prerogatives of the future kingdom of the Messiah; namely, the extent, the visibility, and indefectibility of the Church: in examining the New Testament, we find in several of its clearest passages the strongest proofs of its being an *infallible guide* in the way of salvation. The texts alluded to have been already cited. Hence we look upon the Church with increased veneration, and listen to her decisions with redoubled confidence. But here I think it necessary to refute an objection which, I believe, was first started by Dr. Stillingsfleet, and has since been adopted by many other controvertists. They say to us, *you argue in what logicians call a vicious circle, for you prove Scripture by your Church, and then your Church by Scripture. This is like John giving a character to Thomas, and Thomas a character to John.* True it is, that I prove the *inspiration* of scripture by the tradition of the Church, and that I prove the *infallibility* of the Church by the testimony of scripture, which are two distinct things; but you must take notice, that independently of, and prior to, the testimony of scripture, I knew from tradition, and the general arguments of the credibility of Christianity, that the Church is an illustrious society, instituted by Christ, and that its pastors have been appointed by him to guide me in the way of salvation. In a word, it is not every kind of mutual testimony which runs in a *vicious circle*; for the Baptist bore testimony to Christ, and Christ bore testimony to the Baptist.

V. The *advantage*, and even *necessity*, of having a living speaking authority for preserving peace and order in every society, is too obvious to be called in question. The Catholic Church has such an authority; the different societies of Pro-

(1) Chillingworth, in his *Religion of Protestants*, chap. ii. expressly teaches, that "The books of scripture are not the objects of our faith," and that "a man may be saved, who should not believe them to be the word of God."

testants, though they claim it, cannot effectually exercise it, as we have shewn, on account of their opposite fundamental principle of private judgment. Hence, when debates arise among Catholics concerning points of faith (for as to scholastic and other questions each one is left to defend his own opinion), the pastors of the Church, like judges in regard of civil contentions, fail not to examine them by the received rule of faith, and to pronounce an authoritative sentence upon them. The dispute is thus quashed, and peace is restored; for *if any party will not hear the Church, he is*, of course, regarded as *a heathen and a publican*. On the other hand, dissensions in any Protestant society, which adheres to its fundamental rule of religious liberty, must be irremediable and endless.

VI. The same method which God has appointed to keep peace in his Church, he has also appointed to preserve it in the breasts of her several children. Hence, while other Christians, who have no other rule of faith but their own fluctuating opinions, *are carried about by every wind of doctrine*, and are agitated by dreadful doubts and fears, as to the safety of the road they are in, Catholics, being moored to the rock of Christ's Church, never experience any apprehension whatsoever on this head. The truth of this may be ascertained by questioning pious Catholics, and particularly those who have been seriously converted from any species of Protestantism. Such persons are generally found to speak in raptures of the peace and security they enjoy in the communion of the Catholic Church, compared with the doubts and fears before they embraced it. Still the death-bed is evidently the best situation for making this inquiry. I have mentioned, in my former letter, that great number of Protestants, at the approach of death, seek to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. Many instances of this are notorious, though many more, for obvious reasons, are concealed from public notice. On the other hand, a challenge has been frequently made by Catholics (among the rest by sir Toby Mathews, dean Cressy, F. Walsingham, Molines dit Flechiere, and Ulric, duke of Brunswick, all of them converts), to the whole world, to name a single Catholic, who, at the hour of death, expressed a wish to die in any other communion than his own!

I have now, dear sir, fully proved what I undertook to prove; that the rule of faith professed by rational Protestants that of *scripture as interpreted by each person's own judgment*, is no less fallacious than the rule of fanatics, who imagine themselves to be directed by an *individual private in-*

spiration. I have shew that this rule is evidently *unserviceable to infinitely the greater part of mankind*; that it is *liable to lead men into error*, and that it *has actually led vast numbers of them into endless errors and shocking impieties.* The proof of these points was sufficient, according to the principles I laid down at the beginning of our controversy, to disprove the rule itself: but I have, moreover, demonstrated, that our divine Master, Christ, did not establish this rule, nor his apostles follow it;—that the Protestant churches, and that of England in particular, were not founded according to this rule;—that individual Protestants have not been guided by it in the choice of their religion;—and finally, that the adoption of it leads to uncertainty and uneasiness of mind in life, and more particularly at the hour of death. On the other hand, I have shewn that the Catholic rule, that of the *entire Word of God*, unwritten as well as written, together with the authority of the living pastors of the Church in explaining it, was appointed by Christ; was followed by the apostles; was maintained by the holy fathers; has been resorted to from necessity, in both particulars, by the Protestant congregations, though with the worst success, from the impossibility of uniting private judgment with it;—that tradition lays a firm ground for divine faith in scripture;—that by these two, united together as one rule, and each bearing testimony to the *living speaking* authority of the Church in expounding that rule, the latter is preserved in peace and union through all ages and nations: (1)—and, in short, that Catholics, by adhering to this rule and authority, live and die in peace and security, as far as regards the truth of their religion.

It remains for you, dear sir, and your religious friends, who have called me into this field of controversy, to determine which of the two methods you will follow, in settling your religious concerns for time and **FOR ETERNITY!** Were it possible for me to ~~err~~ in following the Catholic method, with such a mass of evidence in its favour, methinks I could answer at the judgment-seat of Eternal Truth, with a pious writer of the middle ages: “Lord, if I have been deceived, thou art the author of my error.” (2) Whereas, should you be found to have mistaken the right way, by depending upon your own private opinion, contrary to the directions of your authorized guides, what would you be able to allege in excuse for such presumption? Think of this while you have time, and pray

(1) “*Domicillium pacis et unitatis.*”—S. Cyp. Ep. 45.

(2) Hugh of St. Victor.

humbly and earnestly for God's holy grace to enlighten and strengthen you. I am, dear sir, &c. JOHN MILNER.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER XII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—I am not forgetful of the promise I made in my last letter but one, to answer the contents of those which I had then received from yourself, Mr. Topham, and Mr. Askew. Within these few days I have received other letters from yourself and Mr. Topham, which, equally with the former, call for my attention to their substance. However, as it would take up a great deal of time to write separate answers to each of these letters, and as I know that they are arguments, and not formalities, which you expect from me, I shall make this letter a general reply to the several objections contained in them all, with the exception of such as have been answered in my last to you. Conceiving, also, that it will contribute to the brevity and perspicuity of my letter, if I arrange the several objections, from whomsoever they came, under their proper heads, and make use of the scholastic instead of the epistolary style, I shall on this occasion adopt both these methods. I must, however, remark, before I enter upon my task, that most of the objections appear to have been borrowed from the bishop of London's book, called a *Brief Confutation of the Errors of Popery*. This was extracted from archbishop Secker's Sermons on the same subject; which, themselves, were culled out of his predecessor Tillotson's Pulpit Controversy. Hence you may justly consider your arguments as the strongest which can be brought against the Catholic rule and religion. Under this persuasion, the work in question has been selected for gratuitous distribution by your Tract societies, wherever they particularly wish to restrain or suppress Catholicity.

Against the Catholic rule it is objected that Christ referred the Jews to the scriptures: *Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me* John, v. 35. Again, the Jews of Berea are commended by the sacred penman, *in that they search the scriptures daily, whether these things were so.* Acts, xvii. 11.

Before I enter upon the discussion of any part of scripture

with you or your friends, I am bound, dear sir, in conformity with my rule of faith, as explained by the fathers, and particularly by Tertullian, to protest against your and their right to argue from scripture; and, of course, must deny that there is any necessity of my replying to any objections which you may draw from it. For I have reminded you, that *no prophecy of scripture is of any private interpretation*; and I have proved to you that the whole business of the scripture belongs to the Church. She has preserved them, she vouches for them, and she alone, by confronting the several passages with each other, and by the help of tradition, authoritatively explains them. Hence it is impossible that the real sense of scripture should ever be against her and her doctrine; and hence, of course, I might quash every objection which you can draw from any passage in it by this short reply: *The Church understands the passage differently from you; therefore you mistake its meaning.* Nevertheless, as *charity beareth all things and never faileth*, I will, for the better satisfying of you and your friends, quit my vantage ground for the present, and answer distinctly to every text not yet answered by me, which any of your gentlemen, or which Dr. Porteus himself, has brought against the Catholic method of religion.

By way of answering your first objection, let me ask you, whether Christ, by telling the Jews to *search the scriptures*, intimated that they were not to believe in his *unwritten word*, which he was then preaching; nor to hear *his apostles and their successors*, with whom he promised to *remain for ever*? I ask, secondly, on what *particular* question Christ referred to the scripture, namely the old scripture?—for no part of the new was then written. Was it on any question that has been or might be agitated among *Christians*? No, certainly: the sole question between him and the *infidel Jews* was, whether he was or was not the Messiah? In proof that he was the Messiah, he adduced the ordinary motives of credibility, as they have been detailed by your late worthy rector, Mr. Carey, the miracles he wrought, and the prophecies in the Old Testament that were fulfilled in him, as likewise the testimony of St. John the Baptist. The same is to be said of the commendations bestowed by St. Luke on the Bereans; they searched the ancient prophecies, to verify that the Messiah was to be born at such a time, in such a place, and that his life and his death were to be marked by such and such circumstances. We still refer Jews and other infidels to the same proofs of Christianity, without saying any thing yet to them about *our* rule or judge of controversies.

Dr. Porteus objects what St. Luke says at the beginning of his gospel: *It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed.* Again, St. John says, c. xx. *These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name.*

Answer. It is difficult to conceive how his lordship can draw an argument from these texts against the Catholic rule. Surely he does not gather from the words of St. Luke, that Theophilus *did not believe* the articles in which he *had been instructed by word of mouth* till he read this gospel! or that the evangelist gainsayed the authority given by Christ to his disciples: *He that heareth you heareth me*, which he himself records, *Luke*, x. 16. In like manner the prelate cannot suppose, that this testimony of St. John sets aside other testimonies of Christ's divinity, or that our belief in this single article, without other conditions, will ensure eternal life.

Having quoted these texts, which to me appear so inconclusive, the bishop adds, by way of proving that *scripture* is sufficiently intelligible, "surely the apostles were not worse writers, with divine assistance, than others commonly are without it."

I will not here repeat the arguments and testimonies already brought to shew the great obscurity of a considerable portion of the bible, particularly with respect to the bulk of mankind: because it is sufficient to refer to the clear words of St. Peter, declaring that there are in the epistles of St. Paul, *some things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do all the other scriptures, unto their own destruction*, (2 Pet. iii. 16.) and to the instances, which occur in the gospels, of the very apostles frequently misunderstanding the meaning of their divine Master.

The learned prelate says elsewhere: "The New Testament supposes them (the generality of people) capable of judging for themselves, and accordingly requires them not only to *try the spirits whether they be of God*, (1 John, iv. 1.) but to *prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*." 1 Thess. v. 21.

Answer. True: St. John tells the Christians, to whom he writes, to *try the spirits, whether they are of God*: because, he adds, *many false prophets are gone out into the world* but then he gives them *two rules* for making trial: *Hereby ye know the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God. And every spi*

not that confesseth not that Jesus is come in the flesh (which was denied by the heretics of that time, the disciples of Simeon and Cerinthus) *is not of God*. In this the apostle tells the Christians to see whether the doctrine of these spirits was or was not conformable to that which they had learnt from the Church. The second rule was: *He that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error*: namely, he bids them observe whether these teachers did or did not listen to the divinely-constituted pastors of the Church. Dr. P. is evidently here quoting scripture for our rule, not against it. The same is to be said of the other text. Prophecy was exceedingly common at the beginning of the Church; but, as we have just seen, there were false prophets as well as true prophets. Hence, while the apostle defends this supernatural gift in general, *Despise not prophesyings*, he admonishes the Thessalonians to *prove them*; not certainly by their private opinions, which would be the source of endless discord; but by the established rules of the Church, and particularly by that which he tells them to *hold fast*, (2 Thes. ii. 15.) that is, tradition.

Dr. P. in another place urges the exhortation of St. Paul to Timothy: *Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them: and that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, &c.* 2 Tim. iii.

Answer. Does then the prelate mean to say, that the form of sound words, which Timothy had heard from St. Paul, and which he was commanded to *hold fast*, 2 Tim. i. 13. was all contained in the Old Testament, the only scripture which he could have read in his childhood? Or that in this he could have learned the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, or the ordinances of Baptism and the Eucharist? The first part of the question is a general commendation of tradition, the latter of scripture.

Against tradition, Dr. P. and yourself quote Mark, vii. where the pharisees and scribes asked Christ: *Why walk not thy disciples according to the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with unwashed hands? He answered and said to them: in vain do they worship me, teaching FOR* (1) doc-

.. (1) This particle FOR, which in some degree affects the sense, is a corrupt interpolation, as appears from the original Greek. N. B. The

trine the commandment of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups, &c,

Answer. Among the traditions which prevailed at the time of our Saviour, some were *divine*, such as the inspiration of the books of Moses and the other prophets, the resurrection of the body, and the last judgment, which assuredly Christ did not condemn but confirm. There were others merely *human*, and of a recent date, introduced, as St. Jerom informs us, by Sammai, Killel, Achiba, and other pharisees, from which the Talmud is chiefly gathered. These, of course, were never obligatory. In like manner there are among Catholics *divine traditions*, such as the inspiration of the gospels, the observation of the Lord's day, the lawfulness of invoking the prayers of the saints, and other things not clearly contained in scripture; and there are among many Catholics historical and even fabulous traditions. (1) Now it is to the former, as avowed to be divine by the Church, that we appeal: of the others every one may judge as he thinks best.

You both likewise quote Coloss. ii. 8. *Beware lest any man spoil (cheat) you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ.*

Answer. The apostle himself informs the Colossians what kind of traditions he here speaks of, where he says, *Let no man therefore judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days.* The ancient fathers and ecclesiastical historians inform us, that, in the age of the apostles, many Jews and Pagan philosophers professed Christianity, but endeavoured to ally with it their respective superstitions and vain speculations, absolutely inconsistent with the doctrine of the gospel. It was against these St. Paul wrote; not against those traditions which he commanded his converts to *hold fast to, whether they had been taught by word or by epistle*, 2 Thess. ii. 15; nor against those traditions which he commended his other converts *for keeping*, 1 Cor. xi. 2. (2) Finally, the apostle in that passage did not abrogate this his awful sentence:

texts which Dr. P. refers to, I quote from the common bible: his citations of it are frequently inaccurate.

(1) Such are the acts of several saints condemned by pope Gelasius; such also was the opinion of Christ's reign upon earth for a thousand years.

(2) The English testament puts the word *ordinances* here for *traditions*, contrary to the sense of the original Greek, and even to the authority of Beza.

Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us. 2 Thess. iii. 6.

Against the infallibility of the Church in deciding questions of faith, I am referred to various other arguments made use of by Dr. Porteus; and, in the first place, to the following: "Romnists themselves own that men must use their eyes to find this guide; why then must they put them out to follow him?" I answer, by the following comparisons. Every prudent man makes use of his reason to find out an able physician to take care of his health, and an able lawyer to secure his property; but having found these to his full satisfaction, does he dispute with the former about the quality of medicines, or with the latter about forms of law? Thus the Catholic makes use of his reason to observe which, among the rival communions, is the Church that Christ established and promised to remain with: having ascertained that, by the plain acknowledged marks which this Church bears, he trusts his soul to an unerring judgment, in preference to his own fluctuating opinion.

Dr. Porteus adds: "Ninety-nine parts in every hundred of their (the Catholic) communion, have no other rule to follow but what a few priests and private writers tell them." According to this mode of reasoning, a loyal subject does not make any act of the legislature the rule of his civil conduct, because, perhaps, he learns it only from a printed paper, or the proclamation of the bell-man. Most likely the Catholic peasant learns the doctrine of the Church from his parish priest; but then he knows that the doctrine of this priest must be conformable to that of his bishop, and that otherwise he will soon be called to an account for it: he knows also that the doctrine of the bishop himself must be conformable to that of the other bishops and the pope; and that it is a fundamental maxim with them all, never to admit of any tenet but such as is believed by all the bishops, and was believed by their predecessors up to the apostles themselves.

The prelate gives a "rule for the unlearned and ignorant in religion (that is to say, of ninety-nine in every hundred of them), which is this: Let each man improve his own judgment and increase his own knowledge as much as he can; and be fully assured that God will expect no more." What! *If Christ has given some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting the saints, for the work of the ministry, Ephes.*

iv. 11, does he not expect that Christians should hearken to them, and obey them? The prelate goes on: "In matters, *for which he must rely on authority*, [mere scripture then and private judgment, according to the bishop himself, are not always a sufficient rule even for Protestants, but they must in some matters rely on Church authority,] let him rely on the authority of that Church which God's providence has placed him under, [that is to say, whether Catholic, Protestant, Socinian, Antinomian, Jewish, &c.] rather than another which he hath nothing to do with, [every Christian has, or ought to have, something to do with Christ's true Church] and trust to those, who, by encouraging free inquiry, appear to love truth, rather than such as, by requiring all their doctrines to be implicitly obeyed, seem conscious that they will not bear to be fairly tried." What, my lord! would you have me trust those men who have just now deceived me, by assuring me that I should not stand in need of guides at all, rather than those who told me, from the first, of the perplexities in which I find myself entangled? Again, do you advise me to prefer these conductors, who are forced to confess that they *may* mislead me, to those others, who assure me, and this upon such strong grounds, that they will conduct me with perfect safety?

Our episcopal controvertist finishes his admonition, "to the ignorant and unlearned," with an address calculated for the stupid and bigoted. He says: "Let others build on fathers and popes, on traditions and councils, what they will: let us continue firm, as we are, on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone." *Ephes. ii.* What empty declamation! Do then the fathers, popes, and councils profess or attempt to build religion on any other foundation than the revelation made by God to the apostles and prophets? His lordship knows full well that they do not, and that the only questions at issue are these three: 1st Whether this revelation has not been made and conveyed by the *unwritten*, as well as by the *written*, word of God? 2dly, Whether Christ did not commit this word to his apostles and their successors *till the end of the world*, for them to preserve and announce it? Lastly, whether, independently of this commission, it is consistent with common sense for each Protestant ploughman and mechanic to persuade himself that he, individually, (for he cannot, according to his rule, build on the opinion of other Protestants, though he could find any whose faith exactly tallied with his own) that he, I say, individually, understands the

scriptures better than all the doctors and bishops of the Church, who now are, or ever have been, since the time of the apostles! (1)

One of our Salopian friends, in writing to me, ridicules the idea of infallibility being lodged in any mortal man or number of men. Hence it is fair to conclude that he does not look upon himself to be infallible: now nothing short of a man's conviction of his own infallibility, one might think, would put him on preferring his own judgment, in matters of religion, to that of the Church of all ages and all nations. Secondly, if this objection were valid, it would prove that the apostles themselves were not infallible. Finally, I could wish your friend to form a right idea of this matter. The infallibility, then, of our Church is not a power of telling all things past, present, and to come, such as the Pagans ascribed to their oracles; but merely the aid of God's holy Spirit, to enable her truly to decide what her faith is and ever has been, in such articles as have been made known to her by scripture and tradition. This definition furnishes answers to divers other objections and questions of Dr. P. The Church does not decide the controversy concerning the conception of the blessed Virgin, and several other disputed points, because she sees nothing absolutely clear and certain concerning them, either in the written or the unwritten word; and therefore leaves her children to form their own opinions concerning them. She does not dictate an exposition of the whole bible, because she has no tradition concerning a very great proportion of it, as, for example, concerning the *prophecy of Enoch*, quoted by Jude, 14, and the *baptism for the dead*, of which St. Paul makes mention, 1 Cor. xv. 29, and the chronologies and genealogies in Genesis. The prelate urges, that the words of St. Paul, where he declares that *the Church of God is the pillar and ground of truth*, 1 Tim. iii. 15, may be translated a different way from that received. True: they may, but not without altering the original Greek, as also the common Protestant version. He says: it was ordained in the old law that every controversy should be decided by the Priests and Levites, Deut. xvii. 8, and yet that these avowedly erred in rejecting Christ. True: but the law had then run its destined course, and the divine assistance failed the priests in the very act of their rejecting the promised Mes-

(1) The great Bossuet obliged the minister, Claude, in his conference with him, openly to avow this principle; which, in fact, every consistent Protestant must avow, who maintains his private interpretation of the to be the only rule of his faith.

siah, who was then before them. He adds, that St. Paul, in his epistle to the church of Rome, bids her *not be high minded, but fear; for (he adds) if God spared not the Jews, take heed lest he spare not thee*, Rom. xi. Supposing the quotation to be accurate, and that the threat is particularly addressed to the Christians at Rome, what is that to the present purpose? We never supposed the promises of Christ to belong to them or their successors, more than to the inhabitants of any other city. Indeed it is the opinion of some of our most learned commentators, that before the end of the world Rome will relapse into its former Paganism. (1) In a word, the promises of our Saviour, that *hell's gate shall not prevail against his Church*—that his *Holy Spirit shall lead it into all truth*—and that he himself *will remain with it for ever*, were made to the Church of all nations and all times, in communion with St. Peter and his successors, the bishops of Rome: and as these promises have been fulfilled, during a succession of eighteen centuries, contrary to the usual and natural course of events, and by the visible protection of the Almighty, so we rest assured that he will continue to fulfil them, till the Church militant shall be wholly transformed into the Church triumphant in the heavenly kingdom.

Finally, his lordship, with other controvertists, objects against the infallibility of the Catholic Church, that its advocates are not agreed where to lodge this prerogative; some ascribing it to the pope, others to a general council, or to the bishops dispersed throughout the Church. True, schoolmen discuss some such points; but, let me ask his lordship, whether he finds any Catholic who denies or doubts, that a general council, with the pope at its head, or that the pope himself, issuing a doctrinal decision, which is received by the great body of Catholic bishops, is secure from error? Most certainly not: and hence he may gather where all Catholics agree in lodging infallibility. In like manner, with respect to our national constitution, some lawyers hold that a royal proclamation, in such and such circumstances, has the force of a law; others that a vote of the house of lords, or of the commons, or of both houses together, has the same strength; but all subjects acknowledge that an act of the king, lords and commons, is binding upon them; and this suffices for all practical purposes.

But when, dear sir, will there be an end of the objections and cavils of men, whose pride, ambition, or interest leads

(1) See Cornel. a Lapid. in *Apocalyp.*

them to deny the plainest truths? You have seen those which the ingenuity and learning of the Porteuses, Seckers and Tillotsons have raised against the unchangeable Catholic rule and interpreter of faith: say, is there any thing sufficiently clear and certain in them to oppose to the luminous and sure principles on which the Catholic method is placed? Do they afford you a sure footing, to support you against all doubts and fears on the score of your religion, especially under the apprehension of approaching dissolution? If you answer affirmatively, I have nothing more to say: but if you cannot so answer; and, if you justly dread undertaking your voyage to eternity on the presumption of your private judgment, a presumption which you have clearly seen has led so many other rash Christians to certain shipwreck, follow the example of those who have happily arrived at the port which you are in quest of. In other words, listen to the advice of the holy patriarch to his son: *Then Tobias answered his father—I know not the way, &c.—then his father said—Seek thee a faithful guide, Tob. v.* You will no sooner have sacrificed your own wavering judgment, and have submitted to follow the guide, whom your heavenly Father has provided for you, than you will feel a deep conviction that you are in the right and secure way; and very soon you will be enabled to join, with the happy converts of ancient and modern times, (1) in this hymn of praise: “I give thee thanks O God, my enlightener and deliverer; for that thou hast opened the eyes of my soul to know Thee. Alas! too late have I known thee, O ancient and eternal Truth! too late have I known thee.”

I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

(1) St Austin's Soliloquies, c. 33, quoted by dean Cressy, Exonæ p. 655.

CANON OF THE SCRIPTURES, &c.

LETTER XIII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Since I last addressed you, I have seen and read the exceptions made by the Rev. Mr. Grier, A. M. vicar of Templebodane, which, although of a desultory nature, require from me a more distinct and circumstantial reply than I then deemed necessary. He begins with alluding to my proofs of the necessity of an unwritten, as well as a written, rule of faith, and of a living speaking authority in the Church of Christ, for preserving, defining, and interpreting them both, in the same manner as there is a similar necessity in every civil state and regulated society; but, instead of contesting these my primary and fundamental principles, he undertakes to answer an incidental question of secondary importance, which I asked concerning the Canon of Scripture. I might grant the vicar all that he has laboured to prove, namely, those concerning the canon of scripture, and the fidelity of the English translation of the bible, without weakening my arguments respecting the rule of faith, and the necessity of a living expositor of it. However, as my antagonist declines meeting me in the open field, I must follow him into the by-lanes in which he chooses to skirmish.

After enlarging on the above-mentioned topics, I exposed the inconsistency of most Protestants who take the English bible in hand with the same confidence as if they had immediately received it, as Moses received the tables of the commandments, from God himself, on Mount Sinai: whereas, I observed that satisfactory answers to several previous questions are necessary to justify a reflecting Protestant in such confidence in his bible. For by what means, I say, have you learnt what is the canon of scripture, that is to say, which are the books written by divine inspiration, or, indeed, that any books at all have been so written? Again, admitting them to have been written by the prophets and apostles, how do you prove that these were wrote under the influence of inspiration? Besides two of the evangelists, SS. Mark and Luke, were not apostles at all, and probably not Christians till Christ withdrew from the earth. Again, supposing the divine authority of the sacred books to be established, since the originals have long since been lost, how do you prove that the copies of them from which your bible is printed, were genuine

and pure, as likewise that they have been faithfully translated? But in particular, and above all, what security have you that you understand those mysterious books, or indeed any part of them, in their true sense; that is to say, when you reject the other part of the rule of faith, TRADITION, together with the authority of the Church? On two of these questions, and on two of them alone, the vicar takes me up, under the following titles: *The Scriptural Canon of the Church of England Vindicated, and Our Authorized Translation of the Bible Vindicated.*

Undertaking to answer me on the former point, Mr. Grier says: "Our Saviour said that the law, and the prophets, and the psalms testified of him, and his words are true. Thus, then, the scriptures themselves, the *written word*, tell me the canon of scripture is to be found. Those I believe while I reject tradition, which Dr. Milner receives with sentiments of equal piety and reverence; nay, as even possessing *superior* authority to the scriptures themselves." I am bound, in the first place, to demolish the vicar's groundless fabrication of my attributing to *tradition* authority *superior* to that of the *scriptures themselves*; I never was so inconsistent or so impious: as, in fact, I always knew that every word of the Eternal Truth, whether written or unwritten, is of equal authority. In the next place, though I firmly believe that our Saviour said, namely, that *the law, and the prophets, and the psalms bear testimony to him*, yet I would ask the vicar: how does this prove that *Ecclesiastes*, the *Song of Solomon*, the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *Revelations*, and all the other books of the scripture, not here mentioned, form part of the sacred canon? Lastly, whereas the vicar builds the authority of the law, the prophets, and the psalms, on the gospel of St. Luke, (1) I may ask him, on what authority (after rejecting tradition) he builds that of St. Luke himself? His theology is evidently of a piece with the philosophy of the Indians mentioned by Locke, (2) who, undertaking to explain how the earth is supported, say that it rests upon a huge elephant, and that the elephant stands upon an enormous tortoise; but are at a loss to say on what the tortoise itself stands.

However positive the vicar was, at the beginning of his charge, in resting the authority of scripture upon scripture itself; yet returning to the subject, he professes himself willing to admit a certain species of tradition in support of scripture, but thus he calls *tradition of testimony*, in contradistinction

(1) Luke, xxiv. 44.

(2) On the Human Understanding.

to *tradition of faith*: just as if the divine character of scripture, the very point which this very tradition testifies, were not itself *an article of faith*; and just as if that tradition, which required four hundred years to ascertain, concerning the number of the books of the New Testament, were of greater authority than the tradition, for example, respecting prayers for the dead, about which there never was any question or uncertainty in the Church, from the time of the apostles down to that of the heretic Aërius. But common sense tells us that the credit of a witness, as far as regards his testimony, must stand or fall *in toto*. If tradition is to be rejected, when it affirms that Christ is corporally present in the holy communion, it is to be equally rejected when it assures me that the book of the gospels, containing the same doctrine, is the word of God. How confused the vicar's mind was upon the whole subject, appears by his interrupting it and returning to it again and again, and by his rash, inconsistent, and contradictory assertions respecting it. These draw out his matter to a tedious length: But as my object is to comprise my refutation of his *Reply* in the narrowest compass possible, I shall follow the natural order of the subject, rather than his irregular method of treating it.

By way of shewing that it is not precisely the character of an apostle which constitutes an evangelist or canonical writer, I mentioned that St. Mark and St. Luke were both evangelists, though they were not apostles, and probably not Christians, while Christ was here on earth: hence I concluded that it is in virtue of tradition that the Church has at all times received their respective gospels as the word of God. To this the vicar answers: "We receive these gospels, as we do ancient interpretations of them, by what, in a certain sense, may be called tradition; yet we do this *at our own discretion*." This is as much as to say, that the gospels are of no greater authority than the Commentaries of Theophylactus, and that Christians are free to reject them if they please. To expose such impious follies is to refute them. On the other hand, I shewed that the epistle of St. Barnabas, though written by one who is called in scripture *an apostle*, and described as doing the *work of an apostle*, is not acknowledged by the Church to be part of scripture, because it wants the testimony of tradition to recommend it as such. This puts the vicar on misspending much time to prove this very point, namely, that it is not supported by tradition: thus confirming my argument instead of refuting it. I shall satisfy myself with mentioning several downright falsehoods of the vicar, as it would be waste of time

and paper to refute them separately. It is false, then, that 'Our Saviour (in the text above cited) sanctioned the identical canon of the Old Testament, which the church of England has adopted.' It is false, that "the concurrent voice of antiquity rejects those several books of the old scripture, received by the Catholic Church, which are not contained in the Hebrew bible, and this by reason of their not being referred to by Christ." It is an accumulated and shameful falsity, that "Dr. Milner contends that the Church of Rome is warranted in attempting to degrade that which was the only canon of our Saviour Christ, by calling it the CANON OF THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES." It is false, that "Dr. Milner has so much as spoken till now of *the canon of the scribes and pharisees*." Finally, it is false, that "the Church of Rome ascribes *higher authority* to the Latin Vulgate than to the inspired originals." This falsehood is the less excusable, as the vicar proves, by quoting it, that he had the decree of the council of Trent on this head before him when he wrote, and, of course, that he saw the council said not one word about the "*inspired originals*," but barely declared which, among the existing *Latin editions* of the sacred books, was to be esteemed the authentic edition. (1) The vicar reproaches the Catholic Church with "*an egregious error*," as he terms it, in the preference she gives to the Vulgate; though she assigns the most satisfactory of all reasons for so doing, namely, that it has been in use, and has been approved of during a long course of ages, (2) which implies that the Church has always had her eyes upon it to prevent its corruption. This could not be affirmed of any other edition. The vicar's words are these. "This *living, speaking authority* (the Catholic Church) was guilty of an egregious error, in the outset, in determining its canon from an interpolated Greek copy of the bible, namely the Septuagint." It is to be observed, however, first, that the Vulgate version was made, part of it from the Hebrew and part of it from the Greek Septuagint, in ages when the text of them both was far more pure than it was either in the sixteenth or the seventeenth century, when the present versions of the English were made, and this by persons infinitely better

(1) "Sacro sancta Synodus, considerans non parum utilitatis accedere posse Ecclesiæ Dei, si, ex omnibus *Latinis* editionibus quæ circum feruntur Sacrorum Librorum, quæ nam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat, estatuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgaris editio—Pro authentica habeatur."—Con. Trid. Sess. iv. De Can. Scrip.

(2) "Vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usuin ipsa Ecclesia probata est."—*Ibid*

qualified for the task than were Tyndal, Coverdale, Parker, and their assistants; (1) secondly, that the evangelists and St. Paul are accustomed in their quotations of the Old Testament, to make use of the Greek Septuagint in preference to the Hebrew original; (2) and, lastly, that the vicar himself is reduced to fly from the Hebrew of the Old Testament to the Greek Septuagint, and from the original Greek text of the New Testament to the Latin Vulgate, in certain instances of the last importance, as will shortly appear.

The vicar shews himself particularly angry when the authority of eminent Protestant writers is brought against his system, as is the case in the present question. Accordingly, he calls it "a novel course for a Popish polemic—and designed to confirm the bigotry of Roman Catholic readers." He boasts, however, of having been almost "uniformly successful in detecting error and misrepresentation." It must be observed, by the way, that if the vicar falls short of the writers alluded to in consistency and reasoning, he greatly surpasses them, on this and many other occasions, in confidence and self-commendation, the grounds for which you will not fail, dear sir, to observe. The proposition which the vicar undertakes to combat is the following one: "Indeed, it is so clear that the canon of scripture is built on tradition, that most learned Protestants, with Luther himself, have been forced to acknowledge it, in terms almost as strong as those of the well-known declaration of St. Augustin: 'I should not believe the gospel itself, if the authority of the Catholic Church did not oblige me to do so.'" The Protestant authors referred to, in support of this assertion, are Luther in his *Commentary on John*, c. 16, Hooker, in his *Ecclesiastical Politie*, c. iii. sec. 8, and Lardner in bishop Watson's Collect. vol. ii. p. 20. With respect to the first-mentioned authority, Luther, the vicar gives him up to me as an upholder of tradition, when he asks: "What have the errors of Luther, this

(1) The learned Kennicot complains of the corrupt state of the Hebrew text in modern ages. The dispassionate Dr. Brett says: "Though the original is always to be preferred to the best translation, and therefore if we had the original Hebrew text, as written by the inspired penmen, the matter would not bear a dispute; yet, as the authentic original has been lost for many ages, and there are only copies of it in this original language, all which have suffered by the oversights, ignorance, or boldness of transcribers, an old translation may be of great use to settle the true reading, by informing us how the text stood in that old copy from which the translation was made." Dr. Brett's Dissertation on the Ancient Version of the Bible, in Bishop Watson's Collection, vol. iii. p. 52.

(2) See Menochius's Dissertations; also Dr. Brett, who gives many instances of it, p. 44.

apostate monk, to do with the question at issue?" I answer a great deal, if Luther was a learned man, as he certainly was; and if he was a Protestant, or rather the father of Protestantism, which no one denies. In short, it completely justifies the assertion which the vicar undertakes to disprove. The second learned Protestant whom the vicar professes to "detect Dr. Milner misrepresenting and erroneously quoting," is the celebrated Hooker; in attempting which, he both misrepresents that author's argument, and misquotes his words. To be brief: Hooker lays it down as a principle that "the scriptures are the oracles of God;" but he adds: "we cannot say that this, in itself, is evident;—there must be therefore some *former knowledge* presupposed. The question being by what means we are taught this: some answer, that to learn it *we have no other way than only tradition*. But is this enough? That which all men's experience teacheth them may not in any wise be denied; and, by experience, we all know that *the first outward motive*, leading men to esteem the scripture, is *the authority of God's Church*." Hooker then goes on to shew how a diligent study of the scripture confirms the esteem of it, which we had acquired from the authority of the Church. On comparing the vicar's account of this testimony, and his quotation from it, with the original text of it, as given above, it will be seen how grossly he misrepresents it and misquotes it, especially where he denies that Hooker himself admitted tradition to be "the former knowledge, by which we are taught that the scriptures are the oracles of God," and where he changes the word MOTIVE into NOTICE, in order to make Hooker say that tradition barely *gives us NOTICE of such a thing as scripture*, not that it is *the first outward MOTIVE* for believing in it.

The same practice of misrepresenting and falsifying his authorities accompanies the vicar in his appeal to the text of Dr. Lardner. It is true, I said that "the canon of holy scripture was fixed by the tradition and authority of the Church, declared in the third council of Carthage, and a decretal of pope Innocent I." It is likewise correct, that I said: "It is so true that the canon of scripture is built on the tradition of the Church, that most learned Protestants, with Luther himself, have been forced to acknowledge it," for which I quoted Hooker and Lardner as my authorities. But, you will observe, dear sir, I never once intimated that either of those learned Protestants acknowledged the canon to have been fixed by the above-mentioned council and pope. It was enough for my purpose, to shew that they fixed it on tradi-

tion. That Lardner did so, no less than Hooker, is clear, by the very words which the vicar quotes from him. "In fine, the writings of the apostles and the evangelists are received as the works of other eminent men of antiquity, upon the ground of general consent and testimony." This being so, I proceed to ask: what is *general consent and testimony*, with respect to the actions and writings of apostles and evangelists, except the tradition of the Church? And how can this consent and testimony be so readily and satisfactorily obtained as by synods of the bishops and declarations of the pontiffs? That the bishop of Winchester agrees with me in sentiment, as far as regards synods, appears from his *Elements of Theology*, where, in accounting for the uncertainty of the sacred canon in the first ages of the Church, he says: "the persecutions under which the professors of Christianity laboured, and the want of a national establishment of Christianity, prevented, for many centuries, any general assembly of Christians for the purpose of settling the canon of their scriptures." (1) In opposition to my above statement, namely, that "the canon of the scripture was declared in the third council of Carthage," the vicar quotes Lardner as saying: "the third council of Carthage ONLY ordains that nothing but canonical scripture be read in the Church, under the name of canonical scripture." Take notice, dear sir, that the important word ONLY is foisted into the text of the author by the vicar. Lardner does not make use of it. But the intent of it is clearly seen, by the egregious falsity which follows it, where the vicar says: "The council does not pronounce what books were canonical, and what not; although it appears that some were considered canonical at that time." Whereas that council does positively declare, in its 47th canon, which are the *canonical scriptures*, under this very name, and enumerates them exactly as the council of Trent has done, 1149 years since. (2)

It may be asked why the vicar has taken no notice of another learned Protestant writer who is referred to for the same

(1) Vol. i. p. 11, c. 1. The bishop, following the learned foreign Protestant Michaelis, says: "If the Church had not heard from the apostles that the writings of Mark and Luke were divine, these would not have been received." Thus Dr. Tomline and Michaelis, like all other sensible Christians, build the canon of scripture on tradition!

(2) Labbe's Councils. Tom. ii. p. 1177. Binius, Caranza, &c. The vicar introduces, some irrelative jargon from Selden's *Table Talk*, written by one Richard Milward, a puritanical retainer of his, about reconciling the Church with the private spirit. It is not more to the present purpose, than is Luther's *Table Talk* about *Incubi Devils*, &c. re-published by the Whig parliament, of which Selden was a leading member.

purpose; I mean the famous Chillingworth? The latter treats the subject as follows: "When scripture is affirmed to be the rule by which all controversies of religion are to be decided, those are to be excepted out of the generality which are concerning scripture itself. (1) He then proceeds to build scripture, not indeed on the tradition of the Church, but upon what he calls universal tradition; though, in fact, there is no other tradition on the subject except that of the Church. Among numberless other Protestant authorities, of the first rank, which I might have adduced to the same effect, is that of "the illustrious pillar of Protestantism," as the vicar's ally, the bishop of St. David's, calls him. Archbishop Wake, treating of the foundation of the scriptures, in his *Commentary on the Church Catechism*, puts down the following questions and answers. *Question*. "How do you know what books were written by these persons (the prophets, apostles, and evangelists)?—*Answer*. By the constant, universal testimony both of the Jewish and Christian Churches from the former of which we have received the scriptures of the old, from the latter those of the new Testament?—*Q*. What think you of the tradition of the Church? *A*. Could I be sure that any thing, not contained in the scriptures, came down by a certain uninterrupted tradition from the apostles, I should not except against it. Nay, *I do therefore receive the holy scriptures as the rule of my faith, because they have such a tradition to warrant me so to do.*"—If any further confirmation of my assertion, which the vicar impugns, were wanting, namely, that *learned Protestants build their canon of scripture on the tradition of the Church*, I need but quote the sixth, among the thirty-nine articles, which declares as follows: "In the name of the holy scripture we do understand those canonical books of the old and new Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." Now, though the supposition here made is false, namely, that there never was any doubt in the Church concerning the authority of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, the *Revelations*, and several other books enumerated in the canon of the Established Church, yet it cannot be denied that she here acknowledges the continued reception of such and such books by the Church, that is to say, by tradition, as the proof of their canonicity.

Having thrown wide open the pretended *vicious circle* in which bishop Porteus and certain other Protestants have endeavoured to enclose our analysis of faith, by shewing

that, though we argue from the testimony of the Church in proof of scripture, and from that of scripture, in favour of the Church, there is nothing irrational or inconclusive in our so doing, because we observe a certain due order in our argument, and consider the objects in different points of view the vicar attempts, but in vain, to close it upon us. In a word, we believe the Church to have been instituted by Christ, to teach the true doctrine on the motives of credibility. as I shall hereafter shew. On her testimony, among other truths, we believe that certain books called *the scriptures*, contain the inspired word of God. On looking into these, we find that some of the clearest and strongest passages in them, shew the Church to be possessed of higher prerogatives than we had before attributed to her, namely, inerrancy, indefectibility, the continued presence of Christ with his Holy Spirit, &c. Of course, we believe these testimonies, and our veneration for the Church is thereby increased. "What fatuity," to use the vicar's term, or defective reasoning, is there in this method? He says that, according to it, "the Church *decides infallibly* on the authority of the scriptures, while their authority confirms *its infallibility*." No, sir: I have expressly guarded against that cavil, by representing the Church as a *credible*, but not as an *infallible witness*, in the first instance. Her absolute *inerrancy* I learn from those scriptures which she has beforehand proved to me are divine. That two witnesses may, in some circumstances, bear mutual testimony to each other, I have proved by the example of St. John the Baptist and our Saviour. The vicar denies the parity, but he shews himself unable to point out any *disparity*; and I illustrated the case by a more familiar example. I suppose a person, who proves himself, to my entire satisfaction, to have been sent to me by the king, delivers to me a letter from his majesty, containing these words: "*The bearer of this is fully instructed as to our royal will and sentiments: you will, therefore, pay the same respect to his declarations, as if they were delivered to you by ourself*;" I ask, "Would there be any *fatuity* in my reverencing and following the oral instructions of this royal messenger, though it was on his credit I received the letter as coming from the king? The vicar sneers at this illustration, because he cannot argue against it. I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

VERSION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

LETTER XIV.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—You have witnessed the failure of our vicar in his attempt to vindicate the canon of scripture, without recourse to the authority of tradition, and this on Protestant as well as on Catholic grounds. As to the other point, which he says he is equally called upon to prove, on the same condition of not recurring to tradition, namely: “which are the books that have been written by *divine inspiration*, and indeed, that any books at all have been so written,” he entirely gives it up, in the following terms: “to pronounce with confidence what books of the canon, or parts of books, are inspired, and what not, may consistently belong to Dr. Milner, as being a member of a Church which lays claim to infallibility; but certainly not to a member of the Church of England. So that when he asks, how we have learned *what books have been written by divine inspiration, or that any books at all have been so written?* we may answer that, where the holy scriptures declare that they set forth a divine revelation, or that they express the word of God, we believe them to do so: [*thus again grounding a thing to be proved upon itself!*] but as to the fact of their inspiration, we must, with awe and humility, decline to say, what we believe no Church, ancient or modern, can attest.” If this were so, I would ask the vicar, of what great use is the scripture more than any other good book? and why is it called *the word of God*? Again, with what consistency does the Church of England appeal to it, in her articles, as her only rule of faith? But the vicar’s ideas are evidently confused on the subject, and therefore he harkens to another more familiar to him, since he has already published a quarto volume upon the fidelity of the English bible. However, as the labour he spends upon it, consists for the most part of mere declamation in praise of the translation, its authors and himself, together with proportional abuse of its critics, and Dr. M. (a style in which I will not contend with the rev. gentleman) I hope to be able to confine my reflections within much narrower bounds than he confines his.

The vicar begins his declamation, dear sir, with unlimited abuse of your correspondent. This he carries on at great length, reproaching me with *ignorance, superciliousness*

arrogance, superficialness, &c. In short, he says, that "Dr. Milner cannot stand a competition, on the score of learning and talents, with even the obscurest" of the fifty-four clergymen who were named in the reign of James I. to make a new version of the scripture, though he confesses there were five amongst them of whom he knows nothing at all, and some others of whom he has barely learnt *something* from the late Mr. Todd. To this abuse I am content to answer, that as the vicar knows nothing of me or my attainments but what he learns from my publications, which together with his own are before the world, so our respective characters for learning and talents will not be decided upon by what we may say of ourselves, but by what others may judge of us.

The very profession of the vicar, which is to vindicate at the same time Tyndal's translation of the bible, and king James's correction of it, as being both of them faultless, carries with it its own refutation, and betrays his insincerity and spirit of chicanery. His fellow-labourer, Dr. Ryan, whose *Analysis of Ward's Errata* he has commended, "as decisive to the extent it goes," very fairly gives up several corruptions of the sacred text, which disgraced Tyndal's and the other early translations and editions of the English bible, during more than fifty years, as indefensible. Thus, for example, speaking of Ward, he says: "He produces seven texts to shew that we mistranslated our bible, for the purpose of injuring his Church, and to excuse our apostacy from it: but the former mistranslations of these seven texts having been corrected in our present bible, should have been excluded from his catalogue of errata." (1) With the same fairness Dr. Ryan says: "He (Ward) produces eight texts, which he accuses us of misconstruing against the sacrament and mass; but five of the eight having been corrected in our version, agreeably to his own, should have been excluded from the book." (2) The doctor proceeds: "Our opponent (Ward) charges us with misconstruing twelve texts, for the purpose

(1) *Analysis*, p. 10. In Tyndal's translation and the editions of 1562, 1577, 1579, instead of the word CHURCH, the word CONGREGATION is used in the following manner: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my CONGREGATION*, Matt. xvi. 18. *If he will not hear them, tell the CONGREGATION*; and if he will not hear the CONGREGATION, let him be to thee as a heathen, &c. *Matt.* xviii. 17.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 12. In two of these passages, Matt. xxvi. 26, and Mark, xiv. 22, instead of saying, *Jesus BLESSED the Bread*, the old editions say, *Having GIVEN THANKS*; in two other passages, 1 Cor. ix. 13, and 1 Cor. x. 18, the word TEMPLE is used, instead of ALTAR, to exclude the idea of a sacrifice under the new law.

of proving Catholics guilty of idolatry." But six of the twelve being corrected in our bible, ought to have been omitted "in his list." (1) In a word, this advocate of the English bible challenges the *Popish doctors*, as he calls them, to answer him this question: "Did not the translators of our bible of the year 1683, correct forty errors in our old ones?" (2) Such is the acknowledgment of Dr. Ryan, writing in defence of the English bible, against the learned cavalier Thomas Ward; but the Rev. Mr. Grier undertakes equally to vindicate the old version and the new one, the corrected and the uncorrected text, and even in those very passages in which the infidelity of the latter is most glaring and obnoxious to the English Church, as well as to the Catholic Church. For example, he defends Tyndal and his followers in the use of the word *congregation*, for that of *church*, affirming that, in so doing, "they did not depart from the letter or the meaning of the Holy Ghost." (3) In a word, he pronounces, with Selden's *Table-Talker*, that "the English translation of the bible is the best in the world, and which renders the sense of the original the best; taking in for the English translation the *Bishops' bible* as well as king James's;" adding: "the bishops made the preceding English versions of Tyndal and Coverdale the models and as it were the basis of their own." Thus, then, according to the vicar, the version of the Lutheran Tyndal from the Latin Vulgate, of the Calvinist Coverdale from the Vulgate and the Greek, (4) and the corrected version of the English divines from the Hebrew and the Greek, though often differing from each other in meaning, as well as in other re-

(3) Analysis, p. 24. The following are some of the old corruptions, which have been since corrected, according to the original and the Rheims Testament: Coloss. iii. 5, *Covetousness which is the worshipping of images*; 2 Cor. vi. 16, *How agreeth the temple of God with images*? 1 John, v. 21, *Babes, keep yourselves from images*.

(2) To this the Catholic doctors answer in the affirmative. But they add: first, that the very circumstance of their being corrected by Protestants, is a proof that the latter acknowledged them to be errors: secondly, that after the forty corrections in question have been made, a still greater number of corrections remain to be made.

(3) Answer to Ward's Errata, p. 2. To this, his former work, the vicar refers in his present *Reply*, with his usual modesty, as follows: "I trust the readers of my *Answer* will credit the truth of the assertion, that my publication, comprising, as it does, the ablest arguments of our most learned divines, contains a full and victorious refutation of pernicious error; and that I have successfully established the superior merit of our standing English text, no less than its fidelity."

(4) Coverdale had the chief hand in the Genevian edition, which was so obnoxious to the church of England, that the prelates of the establishment constantly opposed its publication, as may be seen in Strype.

spects, are each of them "*the best translation in the world and renders the sense of the original the best.*"

The vicar, as might be expected, speaks in high terms of Tyndal, whom John Fox calls *England's apostle*, and with equal censure of his great antagonist Sir Thomas More. Had the vicar read and faithfully exhibited the former's books called, *The Wicked Mammon, The True Obedience, and The Answer to Syr T. More*, together with the latter's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, &c. I am convinced he must have lowered his tone of panegyric with respect to Tyndal into that of extenuation at least, as he would have found this pretended apostle's language to be no less seditious than it is heterodox, and no less injurious to the present church of England than it was to that of former times. With the most specious pretensions to charity and submission, he terms, at every turn, those who were most dignified and venerated in Church and State} "apish, pish, popish jugglers, thieves, murderers, blood-suckers, Pilates, Herods, priapists, sodomites, hangmen, Christ-killers, devils, &c." (1) The learned and dignified author, quoted below, points out, "amonge other tokens of Tyndale's evill intent in hys translacion, for ensawmple, that he chaunged commonlye this woorde *churche* into this woorde *congregation*, and this woorde *priest* into this woorde *seminour*, and *charitie* into *love*, and *grace* into *favour*, *confession* into *knowledge*, and *penaunce* into *repentance*, with woordes moe, which he chaunged and useth dayly, as in turning *ydoles* into *ymages*, and *anoynting* into *smering*, *consecrating* into *charming*, *sacramentes* into *ceremonys*, and *ceremonys* into *witchecraft*, and yet many moe." (2) Notwithstanding John Fox attributes a splendid miracle (in rendering void the enchantment of a certain magician) to the *sanctity* of Tyndal, he is far from succeeding in vindicating his religious or his moral principles. (3) It appears, that though Coverdale encouraged his disciple Frith to die for his belief, yet it is plain, from his story, that he himself suffered death, not for that, or his English translation of the bible, but for treasonable practices against the government of the Low Countries under which he lived. But why does not the vicar honour the name of the abovementioned Frith, who had so large a share in his master's

(1) Sir Thomas More's works, London, 1517, p. 336.

(2) *Syr T. More's Second Booke, whiche confuteth the defence of Tyndall, for his Translacion*, p. 405.

(3) This appears by his attempt to get into bishop Tunstal's service, after he had declared himself a Protestant, and by his constant maxim of *bearing with the times*.

Tindal's bible, with a single notice? I can conceive no other motive for this, except that when he was burnt in Henry's reign, for denying the Catholic doctrine of the sacrament, archbishop Cranmer had the chief hand in bringing him to the stake. The vicar, however, makes amends for this omission, by the lofty praises he heaps on the "venerable Coverdale," as he calls him, who was the most conspicuous character in giving the early editions of the English bible. This apostate friar was of the same religious order with Luther, and, like him, broke through his solemn vow of continency, by taking to himself a pretended wife, during the confusion of Edward's reign, at which time also he became bishop of Exeter. Retiring to Geneva, when Mary mounted the throne, he sucked in there the doctrine and prejudices of Calvin, so that, returning to England, when Elizabeth became queen, he was neither restored to his see nor treated as a bishop. It was not without difficulty that he obtained the poor living of St. Magnus, near London bridge, and he was, after some time, turned out of that for nonconformity. The vicar sets up a most curious proof of the fidelity of Coverdale's biblical labours, which is worthy, dear sir, of your notice, as a specimen of the conclusiveness of his reasoning. It is this: "Fulke declares as follows: 'I myself did heare that reverend father, M. Dr. Coverdale, of holie and learned memorie, in a sermon at St. Paule's Crosse, upon occasion of some slanderous reportes, that men were raised against his translation, declare his faithful purpose in doing the same, which, after it was finished and presented to king Henry VIII. and by him committed to divers bishops of that time to *peruse*, of which, as I remember, *Stephen Gardiner* was one,—they being demanded by the king, *are there any heresies maintained thereby?* They answered that there were no heresies that they could find maintained thereby.'"

So far Fulke, to whose account of Coverdale's sermon the vicar subjoins the following inference. "This single admission of Gardiner speaks volumes!" But, dear sir, I would ask the reverend gentleman the following questions: *Of what weight is William Fulke's account of Miles Coverdale's sermon in defence of the old exploded version?* Secondly, *What signify Stephen Gardiner's words concerning it, or any other point during Henry's reign, when he was as abject a slave to the religious tyrant as Cranmer himself was?* Thirdly, *What proof of the fidelity of a scriptural translation would the decision even of a council be, that it maintained no heresies; when it might be found censurable on twenty other theological charges?* And, what then becomes of the reve-

rend vicar's *volumes of evidence* for the purity of Coverdale's version? But the simple fact of a new translation of the whole scripture having been set on foot and executed by authority both of Church and State, in James's reign, is a proof that the former version of Tyndal and Coverdale, even after it had been corrected by the bishops, was deemed to be faulty. That it did abound with errors is demonstrated by the learned Gregory Martin, in his *Discoverie*, &c. whom Fulke in vain attempted to answer. The same is again demonstrated, together with sufficient proofs that the present version also abounds with errors, by the intelligent Thomas Ward, in his *Errata*, the success of whose undertaking accounts for the vicar's unbounded abuse of him. (1) But what need is there of a further exposure of the latter's absurdity, in attempting to vindicate both the old and the new version, the uncorrected and the corrected one, and to prove that each of them is *the best translation in the world*, than the vicar's subsequent comparison between them, and the preference which he gives, in an important instance, to the former? (2)

Proceeding to treat of the new version of the scriptures, which was made by order of king James I. more than seventy years after the first appearance of the former, the vicar chiefly confines himself to combating the following passage, where.

(1) There is no expression of hatred and of contempt too strong for the vicar, in speaking of these two able and learned men, which is the best proof of his being wounded by their pens, and of his inability to cope with them. The fellow students of Gregory Martin, at Oxford, bore a very different testimony of his learning and merit from that of Mr. Grier. The celebrated historian of that university relates, that when the duke of Norfolk, to whose eldest son Martin was then domestic tutor, visited St. John's college, he was greeted with a public oration, in which the orator, speaking of its great ornament, Gregory Martin, said,

"*Habes, illustrissime Dux, Hebræum nostrum, Græcum nostrum, Poetam nostrum, decus et gloriam nostram.*"—Athen. Oxon. P. 1, N. 221.

With respect to Ward, it may be enough to say, that, though a layman and a military man, he proved himself to be an overmatch for his different clerical antagonists, one of whom was Ritchel, vicar of Hexam; another Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury. See his *Monomachia*. His *Cantes on the Reformation*, though written in doggerel verse, contain such sterling matter, as to have caused the conversion of many Protestants, and among others of the late Rev. Roland Davies, C. A. D. The vicar's pretended *Answer to the Errata*, was the prototype to his *Reply to the End of Controversy*. He writes much about different subjects, and about them, and makes many bold assertions and denials, but never once proves the point which he takes in hand to prove.

(2) Quoting that foolish book, *Selden's Table-Talk*, he says that: "The Bishops' bible (the old translation, copied chiefly from Tyndal and Coverdale) ranks equally high, as a translation, with James's, and either of them is *the best translation in the world*."



speaking of the bibles "which had been published by authority or generally used by Protestants in this country," I said "Those of Tyndal, Coverdale, and queen Elizabeth's bishops, were so notoriously corrupt, as to cause a general outcry against them among learned Protestants, as well as among Catholics, in which the king himself, James I. joined: and accordingly he ordered a new version of it to be made, being the same that is now in use, with some few alterations made in it after the Restoration."

The vicar commences his attack on this passage with denying, first, that learned divines of the *church of England*, whom alone he acknowledges to be Protestants, objected to the old version; and, secondly, that the Puritans to whom he refuses that title, raised any outcry against it. But I would ask him, whether the subscribers to the *Millinary Petition* to Parliament, who therein describe themselves to be "more than a thousand ministers, that had subscribed the Service Book," of Common Prayer, and whose representatives at the conference of Hampton Court were Dr. Reynold and Dr. Spark, both of them professors of Oxford university, were not divines of the church of England? And whether these representatives did not then and there petition as follows: "May it please your majesty, that the bible be new translated, such as are extant not answering the original, which he (Dr. Reynold) instanced in three particulars." (1) Did not the Lincolnshire ministers present a petition to the king in December 1604, complaining that "the book of Common Prayer appoints such a translation of scripture to be used in the churches, as in some places is absurd, and in others takes from, perverts, obscures and falsifies the word of God; examples of which are produced, with the authorities of the most considerable Reformers." (2) Was not Broughton of Cambridge an Episcopal Protestant, and "the greatest scholar of his age for Hebrew," as Strype testifies? And yet

(1) These particulars are the following: 1st. Gal. iv. 25, *συνοίχεται* wrong translated *bordereth*. According to this, *Mount Sina* in Arabia *borders* upon Jerusalem! 2dly, Ps. cv, 28. *They were not disobedient* (or they rebelled not), contradictorily translated, *They were not obedient*. 3dly, Ps. cvi. 30. *Phineas executed judgment*, wrong translated, *Phineas prayed*. See *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* b. x. p. 14. The vicar asserts that "the passages at first objected to (by the Nonconformists, and which he calls an *empty shift* and a *shallow pretence*), have continued in it (the existing version) *without alteration*." Now, the fact is, that each of them has been altered according to the suggestion of Dr. Reynold and his party, as will be seen in the present English bible.

(2) Neal's *Hist. of Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 53.

re-charged the bible, authorized in his time (the Bishops' bible) with "a great number of errors," which he called "traps and pitfalls;" adding, in his letter to the lord treasurer, that "sundry lords, and some bishops and others of inferior rank, had requested him to bestow his labour in clearing the bible translations." (1) Finally, the vicar himself, quotes the translators of the new version as "echoing the words of the king," when they state, that "upon the importunate petition of the Puritans" the conference of Hampton Court was held, in which "they had recourse at last to this shift, that they could not with good conscience subscribe to the Communion Book, since it maintained the bible as it was there translated, which was, as they said, *a most corrupt translation.*" I would now appeal to any candid reader, of whatever religion he may be, no less than to yourself, whether I was not justified in stating, that "there was an outcry against those bibles, (Tyndal's, Coverdale's, and the Bishops') among learned Protestants, as well as Catholics?" It remains to be seen whether "king James joined in it or not?"

The vicar is forced to acknowledge the truth of Fuller's and Collier's account of this business; who state, that on Dr. Reynold's petition being made, his majesty answered, "profess I could never yet see a bible well translated in English: but, I think that of all, that of Geneva is the worst." (2) This declaration the vicar says, "can only be supposed to mean that *he never yet had seen an English bible, in which there were not passages capable of being better translated!* His pretext for this perversion of language is, that when the king gave orders for the new translation, which he represents him to have done merely to humour a poor empty shift, a mere shallow pretence of the church of England's enemies, he gave directions that "the Bishops' bible be followed, and as little altered as *the truth of the original will permit*; and that "Tyndal's, &c. be used when *they agree better with the text* than the Bishops'." And yet what else does this signify, except that the Bishops' bible is *not always conformable to the truth of the original?* and that *the other editions sometimes agree better with the text than does the Bishops'?* Such is the vicar's ingenuity in refuting his own argument; after which exhibition, he concludes with his customary self-complacency, "I have thus disposed of the royal censure in all its bearings."

(3) Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, p. 433 and 587.

(2) Fuller, Eccl. Hist. b. x. p. 14.

The vicar represents it to be a demonstrative proof of the different sects of Nonconformists and Dissenters subscribing to the purity and excellence of the present version, that they have never attempted to substitute another in its place: But, is this the fact? Did not *The Grand Committee for Religion*, in 1656, when the Presbyterians were in power, appoint a sub-committee "to confer with Dr. Walton and five others about another translation of the bible; and were not many meetings held on this subject at secretary Whitlock's house?" (1) Again, at the Savoy conference in 1661, did not the Nonconformist divines object to a great number of faulty translations of scriptural passages which occurred in the liturgy, and obtain that they should be amended? (2) I need say nothing by way of answer to the vicar, in justification of Sir Thomas More's, bishop Tunstall's and other Catholics' predictions, as to the consequences to be expected from the general diffusion of Tyndal's and the other Protestant bibles without an expositor, or so much as a commentary or note upon them, since these were visibly fulfilled in the sacrilegious confusion of Edward's reign, and still more in the fanatic rebellion and regicide fury of that of Charles I. when not a folly or a crime took place without *chapter and verse* being quoted in its vindication. In short, the established church of England, with the vicar himself, has at last taken just alarm at the consequences to be apprehended for herself, as well as for the state, from an unbounded and indiscriminate diffusion of bibles, without the prayer book to direct its meaning. I do not find myself called upon to make any remark on the praises which the twenty-two Protestant writers, whom he quotes, bestow on their own bible. The vicar's citation of these twenty-two witnesses makes no more for his cause, than if I were to cite the two hundred and fifty-two prelates of the council of Trent who pronounced upon mine.

Speaking of the last English translation of the bible, the one now in use, published by king James I. in 1611, in my ninth letter, I said, "Though these new translators have corrected many wilful errors of their predecessors, most of which are levelled at Catholic doctrines and discipline, yet they have left a sufficient number of these behind, for which I do

"(1) Collier's Eccl. Hist. P. ii p. 869

(2) For example; in the Epistle of the first Sunday after Epiph Rom xii. 1, the text stood thus: *Be ye changed in your shape*. In the Epist. for Sunday before Easter, Philip. ii. 5, Christ was said to be *found in his apparai as a man*. Ibid. P. ii. p. 878.

not find that their advocates offer any excuse." Two of these I specified as standing in direct opposition to the original text, as it is quoted by those advocates, Dr. Ryan and the reverend vicar. On these two points, one of them regarding the celibacy of the clergy, the other communion under one kind, the vicar says: "I join issue with Dr. Milner." I will state each of them briefly, yet clearly. Our blessed Saviour having condemned the Jewish practice of divorce: *His disciples say unto him: if the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry. But he said unto them: All men RECEIVE NOT this saying;* in Greek: *οὐ πάντες χωρεοῦσι τὸν λόγον τούτου.* Matt. xix. 2. In like manner St. Paul says, 1 Cor. vii. 7, *I say therefore to the unmarried and widows: it is good for them, if they abide even as I; but if they DO NOT CONTAIN let them marry;* in Greek, *εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεῦνται:* Now in both these passages the later as well as the earlier Protestant translators change DO NOT into CANNOT, in excuse for the first Reformers' breach of their vowed celibacy. (1) With respect to the former of these falsifications, Dr. Ryan derides it, and says, "The Rhemish version agrees *nearly* with our own!" while the vicar refers to his former work for a satisfactory proof that the word CANNOT "is most agreeable to the original," (1) which says DO NOT. As to the second falsification, the vicar says, "I have been obliged to convict Dr. Milner of gross ignorance of the Greek, no less than a fraudulent application of the Latin, and have proved to demonstration that the Rhemish version of this text: *εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεῦνται* is erroneous." (2) Now in what does this boasted conviction of my ignorance, and of the erroneousness of the Rhemish version, consist? Why the vicar says that *ἐγκρατεῦμαι* "is a

(1) Another falsification of the same kind, which seems to be levelled at the tenet of Freewill, occurs both in the earlier and later version of Galat. v, 17. The apostle says: *You DO NOT the things that you would.* *αὐτὸν θέλητε πάντα ποιῆτε;* this the translators turn thus: *So that YOU CANNOT do the things that you would,* contrary to the original Greek. the Latin Vulgate, the Syriac, Arias Montanus, Erasmus, Beza, Tremellius, &c.—It is extraordinary that neither the editor of the Rheims Testament nor Ward has pointed out this corruption.

(2) On consulting the book and page referred to, the only words relating to the translation itself, consist in a repetition of Dr. Ryan's above quoted falsehood, namely, he says: "The Rhemish construction does not substantially differ from the Protestant one," The rest of his long dissertation is made up of his own confused exposition of the scripture and the fathers on the subject of celibacy. See Answer to Ward, pp. 33, 34, 35.

(3) Ibid. p. 95.

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verb of the middle voice," and that "the Vulgate reading which agrees with it is: *si vero SE non continent*, (1) that is to say: *if they do not contain themselves*: therefore, according to the vicar, the passage ought to be translated: *if they cannot contain*, as in the common bible! What is it that chicanery and confidence will not attempt to prove? The other instance of still subsisting error in the latter translation of the bible, as well as in the former, consists in the false translation of 1 Cor. xi. 27, where St. Paul, speaking of the blessed sacrament, says: *Whosoever shall eat this bread, OR drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and of the blood of the Lord.* ὅστις ὅς ἠεσθῆι τοῦ ἁρτοῦ τούτου ἢ πινῇ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ κυρίου ἀναξίως, ἐνοχὸς ἔσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἱμάτων τοῦ κυρίου. This text which is so decisive in favour of the Catholic doctrine, respecting the body and blood of Christ being received under either kind in the blessed sacrament, is, on that account, falsified in both translations of the English bible, by turning the disjunctive article OR, into the conjunctive article AND. Dr. Ryan finding this falsification (which Ward does not fail to expose) too gross to be defended, very prudently passes it by unanswered. The vicar had attempted to prove that *ἢ* and *καὶ*, OR and AND are convertible articles! at present he contents himself with relating a story about Dr. Kilbie, who, he says, hearing a certain clergyman maintain in the pulpit that there are *three arguments against the translation* of a certain word, in the way it has been translated, answered him, that there are *thirteen reasons why it should be translated* as it stands; concluding thus: "to Dr. Milner I leave the application of the foregoing anecdote: for it certainly affords a useful hint to a self-confident critic." Such is the *issue* of the contest to which the vicar challenged me! And such are his reasons for shewing that the term DO NOT, should be translated CANNOT, and why the disjunctive OR should be changed into the conjunctive AND. I hope you will not forget Dr. Kilbie: if I do not mistake, the vicar will again introduce him to you. In the mean time, I remain,

Yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

P. S. The vicar's mode of reasoning on the corruption in question is of a piece with that of Luther, quoted by me in *Letters to a Prebendary*, letter v. when being called to an account for an undeniable false translation of scripture, he

(1) Answer to Ward, p. 35.

answered, '*sic nolo, sic jubeo, Lutherus ita vult et ait se doctorem esse supra omnes doctores in toto Papatu.*'

VARIATIONS OF THE BIBLE FROM ITS ORIGINALS.

LETTER XV.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—In a former letter you have seen the vicar take both sides of a contested point: you will now witness two other instances of the same inconsistency, namely, in his defending the common bible against its originals, and again in defending the originals against the common bible. The rev. gentleman, after speaking in the loftiest terms of the new translation of the scripture, published by the authority of James I. in 1611, says of its authors: "they looked to nothing as authority but the Hebrew text of the old and the original Greek of the new Testament." For, as they express themselves in their preface or epistle to the reader: "if you ask what they, the translators, had before them? Truly it was the Hebrew text of the old Testament, and the Greek of the new. These are the two golden pipes or rather conduits where-through the olive branches empty themselves into the golde." "These tongues, therefore, we say, the scripture in these tongues, were set before us to translate, BEING THE TONGUES WHEREIN GOD WAS PLEASED TO SPEAK, TO HIS CHURCH BY THE PROPHETS AND APOSTLES." The vicar had before said, that "Dr. Milner's infallible Church was guilty of an error in determining its canon from an interpolated Greek copy of the bible;" adding, in the notes, "they were not out of the Hebrew fountain (we speak of the Latin translations of the old Testament) but out of the Greek stream; therefore, the Greek being not altogether clear, the Latin, derived from it, must needs be muddy. (1) Having noticed these positions, you have next

(1) The Greek version, called the Septuagint, and the Latin Vulgate of the old Testament were both made from the Hebrew at times when this text was pure. Accordingly the former is constantly quoted by the evangelists and St. Paul, and the latter, together with the new Testament, has been religiously preserved from error by the care and constant use of the Latin Church, since the time of the apostles. But the Hebrew text having been almost entirely confined to the Jews for more than a thousand years, was in a very faulty state when Protestants began to translate it in the

to observe, dear sir, that the vicar's answer was directed to the following passage in my ninth letter: "Supposing the divine authority of the sacred books themselves to be fully established, how do you know, without the tradition and authority of the Church, that the copies of them, translated and printed in your bible, are authentic? I will not lead you into the labyrinth of biblical criticism, but will content myself with referring you to your own bible-book, printed by authority. Look, then, at Psalm xiv. as it occurs in the *Common Prayer*, and which therefore is the text to which your clergy *swear their consent and assent*: then look at the same psalm in the bible now in use: you will find four whole verses in the former, which are left out of the latter: What will you here say? You must say that your church has *added to*, or else that she *has taken from, the words of the prophecy*. Rev. xxii. 18, 19." (1) In fact, no axiom of mathematics is more evident than this disjunctive proposition, and no man either of common candour, or even of common sense, would venture, at least publicly, to deny it. Regardless, however of consequences, the vicar maintains, in the face of the world, both parts of the disjunctive, that is, he pretends to reconcile a contradiction; expressly maintaining that "the church of England has neither added to nor taken from the word of the prophecy," when she added the four verses in question to the 14th Psalm in her Liturgy; nor when she excluded them from that psalm in her authorized bible!

In vindication of the additional verses, as they stand in the *Common Prayer*, which he himself has sworn to, the vicar alleges, that "the psalms in the book of *Common Prayer* were translated from the *Septuagint* and the *Latin Vulgate*," in both of which these verses are found; that "it is now generally admitted among the learned, that the old translation (made by Coverdale) is preferable to the new," because "even when the sense is not very clear, nor the connexion of the ideas obvious at first sight, the mind is soothed and the ear ravished with the powerful yet unaffected charms of style!" In a word, that, "the reviewers of the Liturgy in 1661, consulted the *public taste* in retaining the old translation made by Coverdale. Do then the *public taste* and the *charms of style* constitute a sufficient reason for preferring the *muddy waters of the Latin*, derived from

sixteenth century. This is acknowledged by Dr. Brett, Dr. Kennicott, and the learned in general.

(1) It is necessary to observe, that what is the fourteenth Psalm in the *Prayer Book*, is the thirteenth in the *Vulgate*.

the *impure stream of the Greek*, to the *Hebrew fountain*, and for stopping up the *golden pipes, where-through the olive branches empty themselves into the galle*; in a word, for interpolating the word of God, by adding a full third part to an inspired psalm which is supposed not to belong to it? Such are the *motives*, as the vicar calls them, which “shew the futility of Dr. Milner’s animadversions.” On the other hand, by way of defending the new translated bible, which excludes the four verses, against the Common Prayer-book, which retains them, as the word of God, he says that “Bythmar, when he analyses the 14th Psalm, does not notice those verses:” that archbishop Parker omitted them in the Bishops’ bible, and that “in Barker’s edition (the Genevian) there is a note setting forth that the 5th, 6th, and 7th verses of the 14th Psalm, of the common translation, are not in the Hebrew text, and that they were rather *put in, the more fully to express the manners of the wicked*.” This avowal of “the more ancient and venerable translators of the bible,” as he calls them, that they have *added* the verses in question to the *original text*, and that “they did so *more fully to express the manners of the wicked*,” according to the doctrine of the vicar, justifies both the old translators in retaining them, and the new ones in excluding them! Such is the chicanery of the vicar’s logic! And whereas I quoted St. Paul, who repeats the verses omitted in the common bible, Rom. iii. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, as they stand in the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the Douay bible: he hunts through the other Psalms, the Proverbs, and Isaiah, for various passages to which St. Paul may be supposed to have *alluded*, when he quoted them from the Old Testament instead of taking them altogether as they stand in the 14th Psalm, according to the Septuagint, and, in all probability, to the Hebrew likewise, in the time of the apostle.

“Having disproved (says the reverend vicar) the charge of defectiveness, which Dr. Milner has brought against our English bible respecting the fourteenth Psalm, I proceed to consider one of an opposite description which he has proffered, under the sanction of bishop Tomline’s name, *viz.* that of redundancy, as to a particular text.” The fact is, I accused the English bible neither of *defectiveness* nor *redundancy*, but barely argued, from the striking difference between the text of the 14th Psalm, as it stands in the Common Prayer-book and in the common bible, and between the text of John . 7, as it stands in the Testament and the *original Greek manuscripts*, as bishops Tomline and Marsh, and the

learned in general, agree together, concerning their rendering of this contested passage, how indispensably necessary the tradition and authority of the Church are, for enabling a reader of the scripture to know what books and parts of books are or are not authentic. It is the vicar's officiousness that drags to public notice the present subjects of biblical criticism; for which, certainly, he will not receive the thanks he expected. He proceeds as follows: "the bishop of Lincoln, now of Winchester, says Dr. M. has published his conviction, that the most important passage in the Testament for establishing the divinity of Jesus Christ, 1 John, v. 7. is spurious." Now, dear sir, as we Catholics receive this testimony of the apostle in our Vulgate, for the inspired word of God, I must have been an idiot to charge the church of England with *redundancy* in receiving it, as the vicar makes me do. Nor could I, without gross inconsistency, ascribe to bishop Tomline, who admits the divinity of Christ, but rejects the text of St. John, the assertion that the latter, namely the text, is "the most important passage in the new Testament for establishing the former, that is, Christ's divinity." No, sir, you will see, on referring to my ninth letter, that what I said of the *importance of the text*, I said from myself, and that I barely quoted bishop Tomline (which I did by using the customary marks of quotations), as declaring that the text "is spurious." With what pretensions then to honour or candour does the vicar make a parade of shewing that Dr. T. builds the doctrine itself on other texts of scripture, and reproach me, as he does in the following words: "when this is the simple statement of the fact, what shall be said of Dr. M. who thus makes assertions which, a reference to the authority to which he appeals, proves to be unfounded? But even if he did not know that they were so, will ignorance justify error?"

The substance of what the reverend vicar advances on this celebrated text, of the *three heavenly witnesses*, 1 John, v. 7 is that not only bishop Tomline, but also bishop Marsh abandons it as indefensible; that Griesbach declares it to be (namely, in the printed Greek editions) an interpolation from the Latin Vulgate, in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and that there are but two MSS. extant which contain it:" and these very MSS. the vicar maintains, are of a late date. Still he proceeds as follows: "Notwithstanding all this mass of evidence against it (the text of 1 John, v. 7), and that bishops Tomline and Marsh have strengthened it by their powerful support, yet, as I see such invincible arguments brought forward on the opposite side by the Rev Mr. Nolan,

which are also supported by other writers of high established reputation, I feel compelled to abandon my former prejudices against it, and to think that a person should almost as soon doubt of the genuineness of the rest of St. John's epistle, as that of the disputed passage. The vicar's *invincible arguments* for the authenticity of the text, *in opposition to all the original Greek MSS.* are these, as he cites them from the Rev. Mr. Nolan: "That Eusebius, who at the instance of Constantine, had prepared fifty written copies of the scriptures, had expunged, rather than the orthodox had inserted, this passage in the sacred text. The power with which the emperor's orders had invested Eusebius, his inclination to exercise that power in the suppression of that particular verse, the unlimited sway of Arianism, &c. and lastly, the evidence in favour of the contested passage afforded by the African church, present more than presumptive proof that it is genuine." He adds, from the same Mr. Nolan, that, "the proper witnesses of the inspired word are the Greek and the *Latin* churches;" and that when as many as four hundred bishops of the Latin Church (1) "were summoned to Carthage by Hunneric, an Arian king, to defend their doctrine, they distinctly referred to its authority," namely, that of 1 John, v. 7. These, and other facts and testimonies to the same purport, which the vicar adduces, are *not proofs against* me of there being *no redundancy* in the English Testament, where it exhibits this text: as he, from a confusion of ideas, again and again represents me as charging it with; but they are proofs for me, as to the real point I undertook to prove, namely, that the church of England, in this no less than in the former instance, is constrained to desert the boasted *pure fountain* of the *original text*, as polluted, and to drink of the pretended *muddy stream* of the *Latin Vulgate*. For it was in this text, according to the confession of the vicar and his authorities, that the divine testimony in question of the Unity and Trinity was preserved for the use of the Protestant bible, when it had disappeared from every existing Greek MS. This shews the just grounds on which the prelates of the Council of Trent preferred their own Latin text to every other. It proves, moreover, that the unwritten word or tradition is of its own nature a more secure depository of revealed truths than is the written word, scripture. For, if one emperor and one bishop were able, by means of fifty corrupt

(1) The total number of bishops and confessors from different parts of Africa, Sardinia, Majorca, and other adjoining parts of the Latin church, who assisted at this conference, was 866. See Labbe's Councils, tom. iv.

corrupts of the Testament, to vitiate the whole existing text of it in a most important passage relating to the divine nature; what thinking man, who builds upon scripture alone, will vouch with absolute certainty for the authenticity of any other part of it whatsoever? Whereas it is evident that all the sovereigns and bishops in the world could not, at any period whatsoever, make five hundred millions of Christians believe that Christ is corporally present in the blessed sacrament, if they had not previously believed it.

I have more than once observed that, undertaking as the vicar does, to answer "all Dr. Milner's principal arguments," he generally overlooks the most weighty of them. Thus with respect to my ninth letter, the only one among the twelve which compose the first part of this correspondence which the reverend gentleman is pleased to notice, he confines his disquisitions to *the canon* and *the translation* of the English bible, neither of which the author shews can be depended upon with sufficient safety by a consistent Protestant. As to such Protestant's insecurity, in other respects, and particularly with respect to the meaning of the sacred text, in numberless passages of it, without the tradition and guidance of the Church (which insecurity I demonstrated by reason and by the authority of Protestants, as well as Catholics), the vicar takes no notice of it whatever; nor does he even contest the author's arguments, in proof that no Protestant, resting solely on his own private interpretation of scripture, can make an act of faith on any article whatsoever. "The utmost (I said) he can affirm is: *such and such appears to me, at the present moment, to be the sense of the text before me*, but, perhaps, upon further consideration, I may alter my opinion." Having proved the insecurity of those who *will not hear the Church*, I proceeded to describe their uncertainty, doubts, and fears, during life, and more particularly at the approach of death; on which occasion I mentioned the unsettled state of the late bishop Watson's mind on religious subjects of the last importance, as the same appears by his publications, and particularly by his Pastoral Charge to the Clergy in the year 1795. In this, speaking of the doctrines of the Christian religion, he says to them: I think it safer to tell you where they are contained than what they are. They are contained in the bible: and if in reading that book, your sentiments concerning the doctrines of Christianity should be different from those of your neighbour, or from those of the Church, be persuaded, on your part, that infallibility appertains as little to you as it does to the Church." Hence I concluded that this learned bishop's

mind "was so far removed from the assurance of faith," that it was not even settled with respect to the fundamental articles of his own church, or the church's creed and liturgy; the same which he was in the habit of proclaiming in the three creeds, and of swearing to on a variety of occasions. Indeed,

cannot conceive language more expressive of *religious scepticism*, or that inculcates it more forcibly, than that which the prelate here makes use of to his clergy. On this subject, the reverend vicar, who had been silent on others of much greater importance, which are proposed by me, raises his voice in defence of bishop Watson, whom, next to bishop Tomline, he charges me with subjecting to my animadversions, though I have not animadverted on the latter in any disrespectful way at all. He now undertakes, by giving "an enlarged view of that eminent divine's charge," instead of what he calls my "garbled extract," to shew how grossly I misrepresented him. The following constitutes the vicar's *enlarged view*: "When we speak," says bishop Watson, "concerning the truth of revealed religion, we include not only the certainty of the divine missions of Moses and Jesus, but the nature of the several doctrines promulgated by them to mankind. Now you may ask me, what those doctrines are? I know what they are to me; but, pretending to no degree of infallibility, I think it safer to tell you where they are contained, than what they are. They are contained in the bible, and if, in reading that book, your sentiments concerning the doctrines of Christianity, should be different from those of your neighbour, or from those of the Church, be persuaded that infallibility appertains as little to you as it does to the Church." Now, dear sir, I would ask you or any other man, except the vicar, how the latter's enlargement of the quotation from Dr. Watson's charge, tends to prove that the bishop, after all his reading and writing on theological subjects, had acquired a *certain knowledge*, and much more the *security of faith*, as to the point in question, namely, "*What are the doctrines promulgated by Moses, and Jesus?*" For if he had acquired this knowledge, with respect to the thirty-nine articles, or the three creeds, or so much as the blessed Trinity and the divine nature of Jesus Christ, he could not have avoided telling his clergy thus much. In fact, the whole sense of the vicar's additional citation is reduced to these two points, that the mission of *Moses and Jesus were, divine*, and that their *doctrines, whatever these may be, are divine also*; but *what these doctrines are?* which is the point in question, he declines to say. The vicar, indeed, maintains, that "his lord

ship was not removed from the *assurance of faith*;" and that "the orthodoxy of his principles is indefensible." I presume, however, that no other Christian ever did, or ever will advance such absurdity. What! a person destitute of orthodoxy, in other words a heretic, nay an *impious* heretic, and a sceptic in religious matters, as the bishop in question was, may still have even *the assurance of faith*! I can say nothing to heighten such absurdity! I grant that the bishop says in the quoted passage: "I know what they (the doctrines promulgated by Moses and Jesus) are *to me*." But then, it appears from this very passage, considering the whole of its context and accompanying circumstances, and it is evident from various other passages in his lordship's writings, that the knowledge he speaks of was confined to the two abovementioned points; namely, that Moses and Christ were messengers sent by God, and that the messages which they delivered are true, without pretending to any certain knowledge what any of them consist in. Thus much is clear from the *Anecdotes of his Life*, written by himself, and lately published by his son. that the doctrine of the church of England, though he had frequently sworn to it, was by no means the standard of his belief, as he used his utmost endeavours to get all subscription to articles (as also one of her creeds, appointed by her to be publicly recited on thirteen several days of the year) suppressed, and the whole of her liturgy revised, with a view to its entire change. In short, he boasts that bishop Hoadly, who acknowledged no church, no sacraments, nor other ordinances as of divine institution, was his prototype in his religious as well as civil notions. On the other hand, it is undeniable that bishop Watson puts the *Unitarian*, who denies the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, and the *worshipper of Jesus*, as he contemptuously calls the true Christian, on a level, as equally deserving the divine mercy, in his preface to the *Theological Tracts*. Finally, in his *Apology for Christianity*, he publishes his own latitudinarian creed, as being that of the established church, where, after ridiculing the zealots of the church of Rome, &c. he boasts that "the church of England will not abandon the moderation, by which she permits every individual *ET SENTIRE QUÆ VELIT, ET QUÆ SENTIAT DICERE*;" that is, *to think what he wills, and to say what he thinks*! Such is the Protestant bishop, whom the vicar of Templebodane describes as having attained to "the assurance of faith!" and as being "the most capable not merely of ascertaining, but of accurately defining the Christian doctrines!" I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

THE
END OF CONTROVERSY.

PART SECOND

**ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF
THE TRUE CHURCH.**

OR

THE METHOD OF FINDING OUT THE TRUE
RELIGION.

PART II.

ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRUE CHURCH.

"There are many other things which keep me in the bosom of the Catholic Church. The agreement of different people and nations keep me there. The authority established by miracles, nourished by hope, increased by charity, and confirmed by antiquity, keeps me there. The succession of bishops in the see of St. Peter, the apostle (to whom our Lord, after his Resurrection, committed his sheep to be fed), down to the present bishop, keeps me there. Finally, the very name of CATHOLIC, which, among so many heresies, this Church alone possesses, keeps me there."—*St. Augustine, doctor of the Church, A. D. 400, contra Epist. Fundam., c. 4.*

ON THE TRUE CHURCH.

LETTER XVI.—To JAMES BROWN. Esq

DEAR SIR,—The letters which I have received from you, and some others of your religious society, satisfy me that I have not altogether lost my labour in endeavouring to prove to you, that the *private interpretation of holy scripture* is not a more certain rule of faith, than an imaginary *private inspiration* is; and, in short, that *the Church of Christ* is the only true expounder of the doctrine of Christ. Thus much you, sir, in particular, candidly acknowledge; but you ask me, on the part of some of your friends, as well as yourself, why, in case you "must rely on authority," as bishop Porteus confesses "the unlearned must," that is to say, the great bulk of mankind, why you should not, as he advises you, "rely on the authority of that church which God's providence hath placed you under, rather than that of another which you have nothing to do with;" (1) and why you may not trust to the church of England, in particular, to guide you to your road to heaven, with equal security to the church of Rome? Before I answer you, permit me to congratulate with you on your advance towards the clear sight of the whole truth of revelation. As long as you professed to hunt out the several articles of divine revelation, one by one, through the several books of scripture, and under all the difficulties and uncertainties, which I have clearly shewn attend this study, your task was interminable, and your success hopeless: whereas, now,

(1) Confutation of Errors of Popery, p. 29.

flaming beacons, which for ever shine on *the mountain at the top of the mountains of the Lord's house*. Isai. ii. 2. In short, the particular motives for credibility, which point out the *true church of Christ*, demonstrate this with no less certitude and evidence, than the general motives of credibility demonstrate the *truth of the Christian religion*.

The chief marks of the true Church, which I shall here assign, are not only conformable to reason, scripture, and tradition, but, which is a most fortunate circumstance, they are such as the church of England, and most other respectable denominations of Protestants, acknowledge to profess and believe in, no less than Catholics. Yes, dear sir, they are contained in those *creeds* which you recite in your daily prayers, and proclaim in your solemn worship. In fact, what do you say of the Church you believe in, when you repeat the apostles' creed? You say, I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH. Again, how is this Church more particularly described in the Nicene creed, which makes part of your public liturgy. In this you say: I BELIEVE IN ONE, CATHOLIC, AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH. (1) Hence it evidently follows that the Church which you, no less than we, profess to believe in, is possessed of these four marks: UNITY, SANCTITY, CATHOLICITY, and APOSTOLICITY. It is agreed upon, then, that all we have to do, by way of discovering the true Church, is to find out which of the rival churches, or communions, is peculiarly ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, and APOSTOLIC.—Thrice happy dear sir, I deem it, that we agree together, by the terms of our common creeds, in a matter of such infinite importance for the happy termination of all our controversies, as are these qualities or characters of the true Church, which ever that may be found to be! Still, notwithstanding this agreement in our creeds, I shall not omit to illustrate these characters, or marks, as I treat them, by arguments from reason, scripture, and the ancient fathers.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

(1) Order of Administration of the Lord's Supper.

UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

LETTER XVII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR.—Nothing is more clear to natural reason, than that God cannot be the author of different religions: for being the Eternal Truth, he cannot reveal contradictory doctrines; and being at the same time *the Eternal Wisdom* and *the God of Peace*, he cannot establish *a kingdom divided against itself*. Hence it follows, that the Church of Christ must be strictly ONE: one in *doctrine*, one in *worship*, and one in *government*. This mark of unity in the true Church, which is so clear from reason, is still more clear from the following passages of holy writ. Our Saviour, then speaking of himself, in the character of the good shepherd, says: *I have other sheep (the Gentiles) which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be ONE FOLD, and one shepherd.* John, x. 16. To the same effect, addressing his heavenly Father previously to his passion, he says: *I pray for all that shall believe in me, that THEY MAY BE ONE, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee.* John, xvii. 20, 21. In like manner St. Paul emphatically inculcates the unity of the Church, where he writes: *We being many are ONE BODY in Christ, and every one members one of another.* Rom. xii. 5. Again he writes: *There is ONE BODY and one spirit, as you are called in our hope of your calling; one Lord, ONE FAITH, and one baptism.* Ephes. iv. 4, 5. Conformably to this doctrine, respecting the necessary unity of the Church, this apostle reckons HERESIES among the sins which exclude *from the kingdom of God*, Gal. v. 20. and he requires that *a man who is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, be rejected.* Tit. iii. 10.

The apostolical fathers, St. Polycarp and St. Ignatius, in their published epistles, hold precisely the same language on this subject with St. Paul; as also does their disciple St. Irenæus, who writes thus: "No reformation can be so advantageous as the evil of schism is pernicious." (1) The great light of the third century, St. Cyprian, has left us a whole book on the *Unity of the Church*, in which, among other similar passages, he writes as follows: "There is but one God, and one Christ, and one faith, and a people joined in one solid body with the cement of concord. This unity cannot

(1) De Hær. l. i. c. iii.

suffer a division, nor this one body bear to be disjointed. He cannot have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother. If any one could escape the deluge out of Noah's ark, he who is out of the Church may also escape. To abandon the Church is a crime which blood cannot wash away. Such a one may be killed, but he cannot be crowned." (1) In the fourth century, the illustrious St. John Chrysostom writes thus: "We know that salvation *belongs to the Church alone*, and that no one can partake of Christ, *nor be saved out of the Catholic Church and faith.*" (2) The language of St. Augustin, in the fifth century, is equally strong on this subject in numerous passages. Among others, the synodical epistle of the council of Zerta, in 412, drawn up by this saint, tells the Donatist schismatics: "*Whoever is separated from this Catholic Church*, however innocently he may think he lives, for this crime alone, that he is separated from the unity of Christ, will not have life, but *the anger of God remains upon him.*" (3) Not less emphatical, and to the same effect, are the testimonies of St. Fulgentius and St. Gregory the Great, in the sixth century, in various passages of their writings. I shall content myself with citing one of them: "Out of this Church," says the former father, "neither the name of Christian avails, nor does baptism save, nor is a clean sacrifice offered, nor is there forgiveness of sins, nor is the happiness of eternal life to be found." (4) In short, such has been the language of the fathers and doctors of the Church in all ages, concerning her essential unity, and the indispensable obligation of being united to her. Such also have been the formal declarations of the Church herself, in those decrees by which she has condemned and anathematized the several heretics and schismatics that have dogmatized in succession, whatever has been the quality of their errors, or the pretext for their disunion.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

(1) Cypr. de Unit. Oxon, p. 109.

(2) Hom. 1. in Pasc.

(3) Concil. Labbe, tom. ii. p. 1520.

(4) Lib. de Remiss. Peccat. c. 28.—N.B. This doctrine concerning the unity of the Church, and the necessity of adhering to it, under pain of damnation, which appears so rigid in modern Protestants, was almost universally taught by their predecessors: as, for example, by Calvin, l. iv. Instit. 1, and Beza, Confess. Fid. c. v; by the Huguenots in their catechism; by the Scotch, in their profession of 1568; by the church of England, Art. 18; by the celebrated bishop Pearson, &c. The last named writes thus: "Christ never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a Church, to save some, and make another institution for other men's salvation.—As none were saved from the deluge but such as were within the ark of Noah, so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God, which belong not to the Church of God."—Exposit. of Creed p. 349.

PROTESTANT DISUNION.

LETTER XVIII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—In the inquiry I am about to make respecting the Church or Society of Christians to which this mark of unity belongs, it will be sufficient for my purpose to consider that of Protestants on one hand, and that of Catholics on the other. To speak properly, however, it is an absurdity to talk of the *church or society of Protestants*; for the term PROTESTANT expresses *nothing positive*, much less any union or association of persons: it barely signifies one who *protests*, or declares, against some other person or persons, thing or things; and in the present instance it signifies those who *protest against the Catholic Church*. Hence, there may be, and there are, numberless sects of Protestants divided from each other in every thing, except in opposing their true mother, the Catholic Church. St. Augustin reckons up 90 heresies which had protested against the Church before his time, that is, during the first four hundred years of her existence; and ecclesiastical writers have counted about the same number, which rose up since that period, down to the æra of Luther's protestation, which took place early in the sixteenth century: whereas, from the last-mentioned æra, to the end of the same century, Staphylus and cardinal Hosius, enumerated 270 different sects of Protestants: and alas! how have Protestant sects, beyond reckoning and description, multiplied during the last 200 years? Thus has the observation of the above cited holy father been verified in modern, no less than it was in former ages, where he exclaims: "Into how many morsels have those sects been broken, who have divided themselves from the unity of the Church." (1) You are not ignorant that the illustrious Bossuet has written two considerable volumes on the *Variations of the Protestants*; chiefly on those of the Lutheran and Calvinistic pedigrees. Numerous other variations, dissensions and mutual persecutions, even to the extremity of death, (2) which have taken place among

(1) St. Aug. contra Petolian.

(2) Luther pronounced the Sacramentarians, namely, the Calvinists, Zuinglians, and those Protestants, in general, who denied the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, *heretics, and damned souls, for whom it is not lawful to pray*. Epist. ad Arginten. Catech. Præf. Comment. in Gen. His

them, I have had occasion to mention in my former letters and other works. (1) I have also quoted the lamentations of Calvin, Dudith, and other heads of the Protestants, on the subject of these divisions. You will recollect, in particular, what the latter writes concerning those differences: "Our people are carried away by every wind of doctrine. If you know what their belief is to-day, you cannot tell what it will be to-morrow. Is there one article of religion, in which these churches, who are at war with the pope, agree together? If you run over all the articles, from the first to the last, you will not find one which is not held by some of them to be an article of faith, and rejected by others as an impiety. (2)

With these and numberless other historical facts, of the same nature, before his eyes, would it not, dear sir, I appeal to your own good sense, be the extremity of folly, for any one to lay the least claim to the mark of unity in favour of Protestants, or to pretend that they, who are united in nothing but their hostility towards the Catholic Church, can form *the one Church* we profess to believe in the creed? Perhaps, however, you will say, that the mark of unity, which is wanting among the endless divisions of Protestants in general, may be found in the church to which you belong, the established church of England. I grant, dear sir, that your communion has better pretensions to this and the other marks of the Church, than any other Protestant society has. She is, as our controversial poet sings, "The least *deformed*, because *reformed* the least." (3) You will recollect the account I have given in a former letter, (4) of the material changes which this Church has undergone, at different times,

followers persecuted Bucer, Melancthon's nephew, with imprisonment, and Orellius to death, for endeavouring to soften their master's doctrine in this point. Mosheim by Maclaine, vol. iv. p. 341—353. Zuinglius, while he deified Hercules, Theseus, &c. condemned the Anabaptists to be drowned, pronouncing this sentence on Felix Mans: "*Qui iterum mergunt mergantur*," which sentence was accordingly executed at Zurich. Limborch, Introduction ?l. Not content with anathematizing and imprisoning those reformers who dissented from his system, John Calvin caused two of them, Servetus and Gruet, to be put to death. The Presbyterians of Holland and New England, were equally intolerant with respect to other denominations of Protestants. The latter hanged four Quakers, one of them a woman, on account of their religion. In England itself, frequent executions of Anabaptists and other Protestants took place, from the reign of Edward VI. till that of Charles I. and other less sanguinary persecutions till the time of James II.

(1) *Letters to a Prebendary &c.*

(2) Epist. ad Capiton. inter Epist. Bezzæ.

(3) Dryden, Hind and Panther.

(4) Letter viii.

since her first entire formation in the reign of the last Edward, and which place her at variance with herself. You will also remember the proofs of *Hoadlyism*, in other words, of *Socinianism*, that *damnable and cursed heresy*, as this church termed it in her last synod, (1) which I brought against some of her most illustrious bishops, archdeacons, and other dignitaries of modern times. These teach, in official charges to the clergy, in consecration sermons, and in publications addressed to the throne, that the Church herself is nothing more than a voluntary association of certain people for the benefit of social worship; that they themselves are in no other sense *ministers of God* than civil officers are; that Christ has left us no exterior means of grace, and that, of course, baptism and the Lord's supper (which are declared *necessary for salvation* in the catechism) produce no spiritual effect at all; in short, that all mysteries, and among the rest those of the Trinity and Incarnation (for denying which the prelates of the church of England sent so many Arians to the stake in the reigns of Edward, Elizabeth, and James I.), are mere nonsense. (2) When I had occasion to expose this fatal system (the professors of which Cranmer and Ridley would have sent at once to the stake), I hoped it was of a local nature, and that defending, as I was in this point, the articles and liturgy of the established church as well as my own, I should, thus far, be supported by its dignitaries and other learned members. I found, however, the contrary, to be generally the case, (3) and that the irreligious infection was infinitely more extensive than I apprehended. In fact, I found the most celebrated professors of divinity in the universities delivering Dr. Balguy's doctrine to the young clergy in their public lectures, and the most enlightened bishops publishing it in their pastorals and other works. Among these, the Norrisian professor of theology at Cambridge carries his deference to the archdeacon of Winchester so far as to tell his scholars: "As I distrust my own conclusions more than his (Dr. Balguy's), if you judge that they are not reconcilable

(1) Constitutions and Canons A.D. 1640. Sparrow's Collect. p. 355.

(2) See extracts from the Sermons of Bishop Hoadly, Dr. Balguy, and Dr. Sturges, in Letters to a Prebendary, letter viii. The most perspicuous and nervous of these preachers, unquestionably, was Dr. Balguy. See his Discourses and Charges. Lockyer Davis, 1785.

(3) That great ornament of the episcopal bench, Dr. Horsley, bishop of St. Asaph's, does not fall under this censure, as he protected the present writer both in and out of parliament.

ble, I must exhort you to confide in him rather than me." (1) In fact, his ideas concerning the mysteries of Christianity, particularly the Trinity and our redemption by Christ, and indeed concerning most other theological points, perfectly agree with those of Dr. Balguy. He represents the difference between the members of the established church and the Socinians, to consist in nothing but "a few unmeaning words," and asserts, that "they need never be upon their guard against each other." (2) Speaking of the *custom*, as he calls it, "in the scripture, of mentioning *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost together*, on the most solemn occasions, of which baptism is one,"—he says, "Did I pretend to understand what I say, I might be a Tritheist or an Infidel; but I could not worship the one true God, and acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Lord of all." (3) Another learned professor of divinity, who is also a bishop of the established church, teaches his clergy not to esteem any particular opinion concerning *the Trinity, satisfaction*, and original sin necessary to salvation." (4) Accordingly, he equally absolves the *Unitarian* from *impiety*, in refusing divine honour to our blessed Saviour, and "the worshipper of Jesus," as he expresses himself, from *idolatry*, in paying it to him, on the score of their common *good intention*. (5) This sufficiently shews what the bishop's own belief was concerning the adorable Trinity and the divinity of the Second Person of it. I have given, in a former letter, a remarkable passage from the above quoted charge, where bishop Watson, speaking of the doctrines of Christianity, says to his assembled clergy: "I think it *safer* to tell you *where* they are contained than *what they are*. They are contained in the bible: and if, in reading that book, your sentiments should be different from those of your neighbour, or *from those of the Church*, be persuaded that infallibility appertains as little to you, as it does to the Church." I have elsewhere exposed the complete Socinianism of bishop Hoadly and his scholars, (6) among whom we must reckon bishop Shipley in the first rank.

Another celebrated writer, who was himself a dignitary of the establishment, (7) arguing, as he does most powerfully,

(1) Lectures in Divinity, delivered in the university of Cambridge, by J. Hey, D. D. as Norrisian professor, in four volumes, 1797. Vol. ii. p. 102.

(2) Ibid. p. 41.

(3) Ibid. pp. 250, 251.

(4) Dr. Watson, bishop of Landaff's Charge, 1795.

(5) Collect. of Theol. Tracts, Pref. p. 17.

(6) Letters to a Prebendary.

(7) Dr. Blackburn, archdeacon of Cleveland. author of the Confessional.

against the consistency and efficacy of public confessions of faith among Protestants of every denomination, says, that out of a hundred ministers of the establishment, who, every year, subscribe the articles made "to prevent diversity of opinions," he has reason to believe "that above one-fifth of this number do not subscribe or assent to these articles in one uniform sense." (1) He also quotes a right reverend author who maintains, that "no two thinking men ever agreed exactly in their opinion, even with regard to any one article of it." (2) He also quotes the famous bishop Burnet, who says, that "the requiring of subscription to the thirty-nine articles is a great imposition, (3) and that the greater part of the clergy subscribe the articles without ever examining them, and others do it because they must do it, though they can hardly satisfy their consciences about some things in them." (4) He shews that the advocates for subscription, doctors Nichols, Bennet, Waterland, and Stebbing, all vindicated it on opposite grounds; and he is forced to confess the same thing with respect to the enemies of subscription, with whom he himself ranks. Dr. Clark pretends there is a salvo in the subscription, namely, *I assent to the articles, in as much as they are agreeable to scripture*, (5) though the Judges of England have declared the contrary. (6) Dr. Sykes alleges that they were either purposely or negligently made *equivocal*. (7) Another writer, whom he praises, undertakes to explain, how "these articles may be subscribed, and consequently believed, by a Sabellian, an orthodox Trinitarian, a Tritheist, and an Arian, so called." After this citation, Dr. Blackburn shrewdly adds: "One would wonder what idea this writer had of *peace*, when he supposes it might be kept by the act of subscription among men of these different judgments." (8) If you will look into *Orerton's True Churchman Ascertained*, you will meet with additional proofs of the repugnance of many other dignitaries and distinguished churchmen to the articles of their own church, as well as of their disagreement in faith among themselves. Hence you will not wonder that a numerous body of them should, some years ago, have petitioned the legislature to be relieved from the *grievance*, as they termed it, of subscribing to these articles, (9) and that we should continually hear of the mutilation of the liturgy by so many of them, to avoid sanctioning those doctrines of their church, which they

(1) Confess. 3 Ed. p. 45. (2) Dr. Clayton, bishop of Clogher.
 (3) Confess. p. 83. (4) P. 91. (5) P. 222. (6) P. 183.
 (7) P. 237. (8) P. 239. (9) Particularly in 1772.

disbelieve and reject, particularly the Athanasian creed and the absolution. (1)

I might disclose a still wider departure from their original confessions of faith, and still more signal dissensions among the different dissenters, and particularly among the old stock of the Presbyterians and Independents, if this were necessary. Most of these, says Dr. Jortin, are now Socinians, though we all know they heretofore persecuted that sect with fire and sword. The renowned Dr. Priestley not only denied the divinity of Christ, but with horrid blasphemy accused him of numerous errors, weaknesses and faults: (2) and when the authority of Calvin, in burning Servetus, was objected to him, he answered, "Calvin was a great man, but if a little man be placed on the shoulders of a giant, he will be enabled to see farther than the giant himself." The doctrine now preached in the fashionable Unitarian chapels in the metropolis, I understand, greatly resembles that of the Theophilanthropists of France, instituted by an infidel, one of the five directors.

The chief question, however, at present is, whether the church of England can lay any claim to the first character or mark of the true Church, pointed out in our common creed, that of UNITY? On this subject I have to observe, that in addition to the dissensions among its members, already mentioned, there are whole societies, not communicating with the ostensible church of England, who make very strong and plausible pretensions to be, each of them, the real church of England. Such are the Nonjurors, who maintain the original doctrine of this church, contained in the homilies concerning passive obedience and non-resistance, and who adhere to the first ritual of Edward VI. (3) such are the evangelical preachers and their disciples, who insist upon it that pure Calvinism is the creed of the established church: (4)

(1) The omission of the Athanasian creed, in particular, so often took place in the public service, that an act of parliament has just passed, among other things, to enforce the repetition of it. But if the clergymen alluded to really believe that Christ is not God, what is the legislature doing in forcing them to worship him as God?! (2) Theolog. Reposit. vol. 4.

(3) To this church belonged Ken and the other six bishops who were deposed at the Revolution; also Leslie, Collier, Hicks, Bret, and many others of the chief ornaments of the church of England.

(4) It is clear from the Articles and Homilies, and still more from the persecution which the asserters of free-will heretofore suffered in this country, that the church of England was Calvinistic till the end of the reign of James I. in the course of which that monarch sent episcopal representatives from England and Scotland to the great Protestant synod of

fnally, such are the Methodists, whom professor Hey describes as forming *the old church of England*. (1) And, even now, it is notorious that many clergymen preach in the churches in the morning, and the meeting-houses in the evening; while their opulent patrons are purchasing as many church livings as they can, in order to fill them with incumbents of the same description. Tell me now, dear sir, whether, from this view of the state of the church of England, or from any other fair view which can be taken of it, you will venture to ascribe to it that first mark of the *true Church* which you profess to belong to her, when, in the face of heaven and earth, you solemnly declare, *I believe in ONE Catholic Church*? Say: is there any single mark or principle of real *unity* in it? I anticipate the answers your candour will give to these questions. I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

CATHOLIC UNITY.

LETTER XIX.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—We have now to see whether that first mark of the true Church, which we confess in our creeds, but which we have found to be wanting to the Protestant societies, and even to the most ostensible and orderly of them, the established church of England, does or does not appear in that principal and primeval stock of Christianity, called *the Catholic Church*. In case this Church, spread, as it is, throughout the various nations of the earth, and subsisting, as it has done, through all ages, since that of Christ and his apostles, should have maintained that religious *unity* which the modern sects, confined to a single people, have been unable to preserve, you will allow that it must have been framed by a consummate Wisdom, and protected by an omnipotent Providence.

Now, sir, I maintain it, as a notorious fact, that this original and great Church is, and ever has been strictly ONE in all the abovementioned particulars, and first in her faith and terms of communion. The same creeds, namely, the Apostles' creed, the Nicene creed, the Athanasian creed, and the

Dort. These, in the name of their respective churches, signed that "The faithful who fall into atrocious crimes, do not forfeit justification, or incur damnation."

(1) Lectures, Vol. II p. 73.

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creed of pope Pius IV. drawn up in conformity with the definitions of the council of Trent, are every where recited and professed to the strict letter; the same articles of faith and morality are taught in all our catechisms, the same rule of faith, namely, the revealed word of God, contained in scripture and tradition, and the same expositor and interpreter of this rule, the Catholic Church speaking by the mouth of her pastors, are admitted and proclaimed by all Catholics throughout the four quarters of the globe, from Ireland to Chili, and from Canada to India. You may convince yourself of this any day, at the Royal Exchange, by conversing with intelligent Catholic merchants from the several countries in question. You may satisfy yourself respecting it, even by interrogating the poor illiterate Irish, and other Catholic foreigners, who traverse the country in various directions. Ask them their belief as to the fundamental articles of Christianity, the unity and trinity of God, the incarnation and death of Christ, his divinity, and atonement for sin by his passion and death, the necessity of baptism, the nature of the blessed sacrament; question them on these and other such points, but with kindness, patience, and condescension, particularly with respect to their language and delivery, and, I will venture to say, you will not find any essential variation in the answers of most of them; and much less such as you will find by proposing the same questions to an equal number of Protestants, whether learned or unlearned, or of the selfsame denomination. At all events, the Catholics, if properly interrogated, will confess their belief in one comprehensive article; namely this: *I believe whatever the holy Catholic Church believes and teaches.*

Protestant divines, at the present day, excuse their dissent from the articles, which they subscribe and swear to, by reason of their alleged antiquity and obsolescence. (1) though none of them are yet quite two centuries and a half old; (2) and they feel no difficulty in avowing, that "a tacit reformation," since the first pretended reformation, has taken place among them. (3) This alone is a confession that their church *is not one and the same*: whereas all Catholics believe as firmly in the doctrinal decisions of the council of Nice, passed 1500 years ago, as they do in those of the council of Trent, confirmed in 1564, and other still more recent decisions;

(1) Dr. Hey's Lectures in Divinity, vol. ii. pp. 49, 50, 51, &c.

(2) The 39 articles were drawn in 1562, and confirmed by the queen and the bishops in 1571.

(3) Hey, p. 48.

because the Catholic Church, like its Divine Founder, *is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.* Heb. xiii. 8.

Nor is it in her *doctrine* only that the Catholic Church is one and the same; she is also uniform in whatever is essential in her *liturgy*. In every part of the world, she offers up the same unbloody sacrifice of the holy Mass, which is her chief act of divine worship; she administers the same seven sacraments, provided by infinite Wisdom and Mercy for the several wants of the faithful; the great festivals of our redemption are kept holy on the same days, and the apostolical fast of Lent is every where proclaimed and observed. In short, such is the unity of the Catholic Church, that when Catholic priests or laymen, landing at one of the neighbouring ports, from India, Canada, or Brazil, come to my chapel. (1) I find them capable of joining with me in every essential part of the divine service.

Lastly, as a regular, uniform, ecclesiastical constitution and government, and a due subordination of its members, are requisite to constitute a uniform Church, and to preserve in it unity of doctrine and liturgy; so these are undeniably evident in the Catholic Church, and in her alone. She is, in the language of St. Cyprian, "the habitation of peace and unity;" (2) and in that of the inspired text, *like an army in battle array* (3) Spread, as the Catholics are, over the face of the earth, according to my former observation, and disunited, as they are, in every other respect, they form one uniform body in the order of religion. Whether roaming in the plains of Paraguay, or confined in the palaces of Peking, each simple Catholic, in point of ecclesiastical economy, is subject to his pastor; each pastor submits to his bishop, and each bishop acknowledges the supremacy of the successor of St. Peter, in matters of faith, morality, and spiritual jurisdiction. In every case of error, or insubordination, which, from the frailty and malice of the human heart, must, from time to time, disturb her, there are sound canons and ecclesiastical tribunals and judges, to correct and put an end to the evil, while similar evils in other religious societies are found to be interminable.

I have said little or nothing of the varieties of Protestants, in regard to their liturgies and ecclesiastical governments, because these matters being very intricate and obscure, as well as diversified, would lead me too far a-field for my pre-

(1) At Winchester, where the writer resided when this letter was written.

(2) "Domicilium pacis et unitatis." St. Cyp. (3). Cant. vi. 4.

sent plan. It is sufficient to remark, that the numerous Protestant sects, expressly disclaim any union with each other in these points;—that a great proportion of them reject every species of liturgy and ecclesiastical government whatever;—that, in the church of England herself, very many of her dignitaries, and other distinguished members, express their pointed disapprobation of certain parts of her liturgy, no less than of her articles; (1)—and that none of them appear to stand in awe of any authority, except that which is enforced by the *civil* power. Upon a review of the whole matter of *Protestant disunion and Catholic unity*, I am forced to repeat with Tertullian: “It is the character of error to vary; but when a tenet is found to be one and the same among a great variety of people, it is to be considered not as an error, but as a divine tradition.” (2) I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

OBJECTIONS TO THE CLAIM OF EXCLUSIVE SALVATION.

LETTER XX.—From JAMES BROWN, Esq.

REVEREND SIR,—I am too much taken up myself with the present subject of your letters willingly to interrupt the continuation of them; but some of the gentlemen, who frequent New Cottage, having communicated your three last to a learned dignitary, who is upon a visit in our neighbourhood, and he having made certain remarks upon them, I have been solicited by those gentlemen to forward them to you. The terms of our correspondence render an apology from me un-

(1) Archdeacon Paley very naturally complains that, “the doctrine of the articles of the church of England,” which he so pointedly objects to, “are interwoven with much industry into her forms of public worship.” I have not met with a Protestant bishop, or other eminent divine, from archbishop Tillotson down to the present bishop of Lincoln, who approves altogether of the Athanasian creed, which, however, is appointed to be said or sung on thirteen chief festivals throughout the year.

(2) De Præscrip. contra Hær. The famous bishop Jewel, in excuse for the acknowledged variations of his own church, objects to Catholics that here are varieties in theirs; namely, some of the friars are dressed in black, and some in white, and some in blue: that some of them live on meat, and some on fish, and some on herbs: they have also disputes in their schools, as Dr. Porteus also remarks; but they both omit to mention, that these disputes are not about articles of faith.

necessary and still more the conviction that I believe you entertain of my being, with sincere respect and regard, reverend sir, &c.

JAMES BROWN.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE REV. ———, PREBENDARY OF ———, TO MR. ———.

"It is well known to every Roman Catholic gentleman, with whom I have lived in habits of social intercourse, that I was always a warm advocate for their emancipation. and. that so far from having any objections to their religion, I considered their hopes of future bliss as well founded as my own. In return, I thought I saw in them a corresponding liberality and charity. But these letters which you have sent me from the correspondent of your society at Winchester, have quite disgusted me with their bigotry and uncharitableness. In opposition to the Chrysostoms and Augustins, whom he quotes so copiously for his doctrine of exclusive salvation, I will place a modern bishop of my church, no way inferior to them, Dr. Watson, who says: "Shall we never be freed from the narrow-minded contentions of bigots, and from the insults of men who *know not what spirit they are of*, when they stint the Omnipotent in the exercise of his mercy, and bar the doors of heaven against every sect but their own? Shall we never learn to think more humbly of ourselves and less despicably of others; to believe that the Father of the universe accommodates not his judgments to the wretched wranglings of pedantic theologues; but that every one, who, with an honest intention, and to the best of his abilities, seeketh truth, whether he findeth it or not, and worketh righteousness, will be accepted of by him?" (1) These, sir, are exactly my sentiments, as they were those of the illustrious Hoadly in his celebrated sermon, which had the effect of stifling most of the remaining bigotry in the established church. (2) There is not any prayer which I more frequently or fervently repeat, than that of the liberal-minded poet, who himself passed for a Roman Catholic, particularly the following stanza of it:

(1) Bishop Watson's Theolog. Tracts, Pref. p. 17.

(2) Bishop Hoadly's Sermon *On the Kingdom of Christ*. This made the choice of religion a thing indifferent, and subjected the whole business of religion to the civil power. Hence sprung the famous Bangorian controversy, which was on the point of ending in a censure upon Hoadly from the Convocation, when the latter was interdicted by ministry, and has never since, in the course of a hundred years, been allowed to meet again.

"Let not this weak and erring hand
Presume thy bolts to throw.
And deal damnation round the land
On each I judge thy foe." (1)

I hope your society will require its Popish correspondent before he writes any more letters to it on other subjects, to answer what our prelate and his own poet have advanced against the bigotry and uncharitableness of excluding Christians of any denomination from the mercies of God and everlasting happiness. He may assign whatever marks he pleases of the true Church, but I, for my part, shall ever consider charity as the only sure mark of this, conformably with what Christ says: *By this shall all know that ye are my disciples if ye have love one to another.* John, xiii. 35.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER XXI.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—In answer to the objections of the reverend prebendary to my letters on the mark of *unity* in the true Church, and the necessity of being incorporated in this Church, I must observe, in the first place, that nothing disgusts a reasoning divine more than vague charges of *bigotry and intolerance*; inasmuch as they have no distinct meaning, and are equally applied to all sects and individuals, by others whose religious opinions are more lax than their own. These odious accusations which your Churchmen bring against Catholics, the Dissenters bring against you, who are equally loaded with them by Deists, as these are, in their turn, by Atheists and Materialists. Let us then, dear sir, in the serious discussions of religion, confine ourselves to language of a defined meaning, leaving vague and tinsel terms to poets and novelists.

It seems, then, that bishop Watson, with the Rev. N. N. and other fashionable latitudinarians of the day, are indignant at the idea of "stinting the Omnipotent in the exercise of his mercy, and barring the doors of heaven against any sect," however heterodox or impious. Nevertheless, in the very passage which I have quoted, they themselves *stint* this mercy to those who "work righteousness," which implies a restraint

(1) Pope's Universal Prayer

on men's passions. Methinks I now hear some epicure Dives, or elegant libertine, retorting on these liberal, charitable divines, in their own words: "*Pedantic theologues, narrow-minded bigots, who stint the Omnipotent in the exercise of his mercy, and bar the doors of heaven against me, for following the impulse which he himself has planted in me!*" The same language might, with equal justice, be put into the mouth of Nero Judas Iscariot, and of the very demons themselves. Thus, in pretending to magnify God's mercy, these men would annihilate his justice, his sanctity, and his veracity!

Our business then is, not to form arbitrary theories concerning the divine attributes, but to attend to what God himself has revealed concerning them and the exercise of them. What words can be more express than those of Christ on this point: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned!* Mark, xvi. 16: or than those of St. Paul: *Without faith it is impossible to please God.* Heb. xi. 6. Conformably to this doctrine, the same apostle classes *heresies with murder and adultery*; concerning which he says: *They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* Gal. v. 20, 21. Accordingly, he orders that *a man who is a heretic shall be rejected.* Tit. iii. 10, and the apostle of charity, St. John, forbids the faithful *to receive him into their houses, or even to bid him God speed, who bringeth not this doctrine of Christ.* 2 John, i. 10. This apostle acted up to his rule, with respect to the treatment of persons out of the Church, when he hastily withdrew from a public building, in which he met the heretic Cerinthus, "lest," as he said, "it should fall down upon him." (1)

I have given, in a former letter, some of the numberless passages in which the holy fathers speak home to the present point; and, as these are far more expressive and emphatical, than what I myself have said upon it, I presume they have chiefly contributed to excite the bile of the reverend prebendary. However he may slight these venerable authorities, yet, as I am sure that you, sir, reverence them, I will, on account of their peculiar appositiveness to the point in question, add two more similar quotations from the great doctor of the fifth century, St. Augustin. He says, "All the assemblies, or rather divisions, who call themselves churches of Christ, but which, in fact, have separated themselves from the congregation of unity, do not belong to the true Church. They might indeed belong to her, if the Holy Ghost could be di-

(1) S. Iren. l. iii Euseb Hist. l. vii

vided against himself; but as this is impossible, they *de nôt* belong to her.' (1) In like manner, addressing himself to certain sectaries of his time, he says: "If our communion is the Church of Christ, yours is not so: for *the Church of Christ is one, whatsoever she is*; since it is said of her: *My dove, my undefiled is one; she is the only one of her mother.*" Cantic. vi. 9.

But setting aside scripture and tradition, let us consider this matter, as bishop Watson and his associates affect to do, on the side of natural reason alone. These modern philosophers think it absurd to suppose, that the Creator of the Universe concerns himself about what we poor mortals do or do not believe; or, as the bishop expresses himself, that he "accommodates his judgments to the wrangling of pedantic theologues." With equal plausibility, certain ancient philosophers have represented it as unworthy the Supreme Being to busy himself about the actions of such reptiles as we are in his sight; and thus have opened the door to an unrestrained violation of his eternal and immutable laws! In opposition to both these schools, I maintain, as the clear dictates of reason, that, as God is the author, so he is necessarily the supreme Lord and Master of all being, with their several powers and attributes, and therefore of those noble and distinguishing faculties of the human soul, *reason* and *freewill*; that he cannot divest himself of this supreme dominion, or render any being or any faculty independent of himself or of his high laws, any more than he can cease to be God;—that of course he does and must require our reason to believe in his divine revelations, no less than our will to submit to his supreme commands;—that he is just, no less than he is merciful;—and therefore that due atonement must be made to him for every act of disobedience to him, whether by disbelieving what he has said, or by disobeying what he has ordered. I advance a step further, in opposition to the Hoadly and Watson school, by asserting, as a self-evident truth, that there being a more deliberate and formal opposition to the Most High, in saying, *I will not believe what thou hast revealed*, than in saying, *I will not practice what thou hast commanded*: so, *cæteris paribus*, WILFUL infidelity and heresy involve greater guilt than immoral frailty.

You will observe, dear sir, that, in the preceding passage I have marked the word *wilful*; because Catholic divines and the holy fathers, at the same time that they strictly in-

(1) De Verb. Dom. Serm. ii.

ist on the necessity of adhering to the doctrine and communion of the Catholic Church, make an express exception in favour of what is termed *invincible ignorance*; which occurs when persons out of the true Church are sincerely and firmly resolved, in spite of all worldly allurements on one hand, and all opposition to the contrary on the other, to enter into it, if they could find it out, and when they use their best endeavours for this purpose. This exception in favour of the *invincibly ignorant* is made by the same St. Augustin who so strictly insists on the general rule. His words are these: "The apostle has told us *to reject a man that is a heretic*; but those who defend a false opinion, without pertinacious obstinacy, especially if they have not themselves invented it, but have derived it from their parents, and who seek the truth with anxious solicitude, being sincerely disposed to renounce their error as soon as they discover it, such persons are not to be deemed heretics." (1) Our great controvertist, Bellarmine, asserts that such Christians, "in virtue of the disposition of their hearts, belong to the Catholic Church." (2)

Who the individuals, exteriorly of other communions, but, by the sincerity of their dispositions, belonging to the Catholic Church,—who, and in what numbers they are, it is for the Searcher of Hearts, our future Judge, alone to determine. Far be it from me and from every other Catholic "to deal damnation" on any person in particular: still thus much, on the grounds already stated, I am bound, not only in *truth*, but also in *charity*, to say and to proclaim, that nothing short of this sincere disposition, and the actual *use* of such means as Providence respectively affords for discovering the true Church to those who are out of it, can secure their salvation:—to say nothing of the Catholic sacraments and other helps for this purpose, of which such persons are unavoidably deprived.

I just mentioned the virtue of charity; and I must here add, that on no one point are Latitudinarians and genuine Catholics more at variance than upon this. The former consider themselves charitable in proportion as they pretend to open the gate of heaven to a greater number of religionists of various descriptions: but, unfortunately, *they are not possessed of the keys of that gate*; and when they fancy they have opened the gate as wide as possible, it still remains as *narrow* and the *way to it as strait*, as our Saviour describes these to be in the gospel. *Matt. vii. 14.* Thus they lull men into a *fatal indifference* about the truths of revelation,

(1) Epist. ad Episc. Donat.

(2) Controv. tom ii. lib. iii. c. 6.

and a *false security* as to their salvation. Genuine Catholics, on the other hand, are persuaded, that as there is but *one God, one faith, and one baptism*, Ephes. iv. 5, so there is but **ONE SHEEPFOLD**, namely **ONE CHURCH**. Hence they omit no opportunity of alarming their wandering brethren on the danger they are in, and of bringing them into this *one fold of the one Shepherd*. John, x. 16. To form a right judgment in this case, we need but ask: Is it charitable or uncharitable in the physician to warn his patient of his danger in eating unwholesome food? Again, is it charitable or uncharitable in the *watchman, who sees the sword coming, to sound the trumpet of alarm?* Ezech. xxxiii. 6.

But to conclude, the reverend prebendary may continue, with most modern Protestants, to assign his latitudinarianism, which admits all religions to be right, as a mark of the truth of his sect; thus dividing *truth*, which is essentially *indivisible*: yet will the Catholic Church continue to maintain, as she ever has maintained, that there is only *one faith*, and one *true Church*, and that this her uncompromising firmness, in retaining and professing this *unity*, is the first mark of her being this Church. The subject admits of being illustrated by the well-known judgment of the wisest of men. Two women dwelt together, each of whom had an infant son; but one of these dying, they both contended for possession of the living child, and carried their cause to the tribunal of Solomon. He finding them equally contentious, ordered the infant they disputed about to be cut in two, and one half of it to be given to each of them; which order the *pretended mother* agreed to, exclaiming: *Let it neither be mine nor thine, but divide it.* Then spake the woman whose the living child was, unto the king; for her bowels yearned upon her son, and she said: *O, my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it.* Then the king answered and said: *Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it:—SHE IS THE MOTHER THEREOF!* 1 Kings. iii. 26, 27.

I am dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNE.

ON SANCTITY OF DOCTRINE

LETTER XXII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—The second mark by which you, as well as I, describe the church in which you profess to believe, when you repeat the apostles' creed, is that of SANCTITY. We, each of us, say; *I believe in the HOLY Catholic Church*. Reason itself tells us, that the God of purity and sanctity could not institute a religion destitute of his character, and the inspired apostle assures us, that *Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it, with the washing of water, by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle*. Ephes. v. 25, 27. The comparison which I am going to institute between the Catholic Church and the leading Protestant societies, in the article of *sanctity or holiness*, will be made on these four heads: 1st, The *doctrine* of holiness;—2dly, the *means* of holiness;—3dly, the *fruits* of holiness;—and lastly, the *divine testimony* of holiness.

To consider, first, the doctrine of the chief Protestant communions: this is well known to have been originally grounded in the pernicious and impious principles, that God is the author and necessitating cause, as well as the everlasting punisher, of sin;—that man has no freewill to avoid sin;—and that justification and salvation are the effects of an enthusiastic *persuasion*, under the name of *faith*, that the person is actually *justified and saved*, independently of any real belief in the revealed truths, independently of hope, charity, repentance for sin, benevolence to our fellow-creatures, loyalty to our king and country, or any other virtue: all which were censured by the first reformers, as they are by the strict Methodists still, under the name of *works*, and by many of them declared to be even hurtful to salvation. It is asserted in *The Harmony of Confessions*, a celebrated work, published in the early times of the Reformation that “all the confessions of the Protestant churches teach this primary article (of justification) with a noly consent;” which seems to imply, says archdeacon Blackburn, “that this was a single article in which they did all agree.” (1) Bishop Warburton expressly declares, that “Protestantism was built upon it:” (2) and yet, “what impiety can be more execrable.” we may justly ex-

(1) Archdeacon Blackburn's Confessional, p. 16.

(2) Doctrine of Grace, cited by Overton, p. 31.

claim with Dr. Balgny, "than to make God a tyrant!" (1) And what lessons can be taught more immoral. than that men are not required to repent of their sins to obtain their forgiveness, nor to love either God or man to be sure of their salvation?

To begin with the father of the Reformation: Luther teaches, that "God works the evil in us as well as the good," and that "the great perfection of faith consists in believing God to be just, although, *by his own will, he necessarily renders us worthy of damnation, so as to seem to take pleasure in the torments of the miserable.*" (2) Again, he says, and repeats it in his work *De Servo Arbitrio*, and his other works, that "freewill is an empty name;" adding, "if God foresaw that Judas would be a traitor, Judas *necessarily* became a traitor: nor was it in his power to be otherwise." (3)

'Man's will is like a horse: if God sit upon it, it goes as God would have it; if the devil ride it, it goes as the devil would have it: nor can the will choose its rider, but each of them strives which shall get possession of it.' (4) Conformably to this system of necessity he teaches: "Let this be your rule in interpreting the scriptures; wherever they command any good work, do you understand that they forbid it; because you cannot perform it." (5) "Unless faith be without the least good work, it does not justify: it is not faith." (6) "See how rich a Christian is, since he cannot lose his soul, do what he will, unless he refuses to believe: for no sin can damn him but unbelief." (7) Luther's favourite disciple and bottle-companion, Armsdorf, whom he made bishop of Naumburg, wrote a book expressly to prove, that good works are not only *unnecessary*, but that they are *hurtful*, to salvation; for which doctrine he quotes his master's works at large. (8) Luther himself made so great account of this part of his system, which denies freewill, and the utility and possibility of good works, that, writing against Erasmus upon it, he affirms it to be the *hinge* on which the whole turns; declaring the questions about the pope's supremacy, purgatory, and indulgences, to be trifles, rather than subjects of controversy. (9) In a former letter I quoted a remarkable passage

(1) Discourses, p. 59. (2) Luth. Opera, ed. Wittenb. tom. ii. fol. 437. (3) De Serv. Arbit. fol. 460. (4) Ibid. tom. ii. (5) Ibid. tom. iii. fol. 171. (6) Ibid. tom. i. fol. 361. (7) De Captiv. Babyl. tom. ii. fol. 74. (8) See Brierley's Protest. Apol. 393. See also Mosheim and Maclaine Eccles. Hist. vol. vi. pp. 324, 328. (9) See the passage, extracted from the work *De Servo Arbitrio*, in Letters to a Prebendary, Letter v

from this patriarch of Protestantism, in which he pretends to prophecy, that this article of his shall subsist for ever, in spite of all the emperors, popes, kings, and devils; concluding thus: "If they attempt to weaken this article, may hell-fire be their reward: let this be taken for an inspiration of the Holy Ghost made to me, Martin Luther."

However, in spite of these prophecies and curses of their father, the Lutherans in general, as I have before noticed, shocked at the impiety of this his primary principle, soon abandoned it, and even went over to the opposite impiety of Semi-Pelagianism, which attributes to man the *first motion*, or cause of conversion and sanctification. Still it will always be true to say, that Lutheranism itself originated in the impious doctrine described above. (1) As to the second branch of the Reformation, Calvinism, where it has not sunk into Latitudinarianism or Socinianism, (2) it is still distinguished by this impious system. To give a few passages from the works of this second patriarch of Protestantism: Calvin says "God requires nothing of us but faith; he asks nothing of us, but that we believe." (3) "I do not hesitate to assert that the will of God makes all things necessary." (4) "It is plainly wrong to seek for any other cause of damnation than the hidden counsels of God." (5) "Men, by the free-will of God, without any demerit of their own, are predestinated to eternal death." (6) It is useless to cite the disciples of Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, &c. as they all stick close to the doctrine of their master; still I will give the following remarkable passage from the works of the renowned Beza. "Faith is peculiar to the elect, and consists in an absolute dependence each one has on the certainty of his election, which implies an assurance of his perseverance. Hence we have it in our power to know whether we be predestinated to salvation; not by fancy, but by conclusions, as certain as if we had ascended into heaven to hear it from the mouth of God himself." (7) And is there a man, having been worked up by such dogmatizing, or his own fancy, to this full assurance of his indefeasible predestination and impeccability, that can be expected, under any violent temptation to break the laws of God or man, to resist it!

After all the pains which have been taken by bishop Marsh,

(1) Bossuet's Variat. l. viii. pp. 23, 51, &c. Mosheim and Maclaine, vol. v. p. 446. (2) Ibid. p. 458. (3) Calv. in Joan. vi. Rom. i. Galat. ii. (4) Instit. l. iii. c. 23. (5) Ibid. (6) Instit. l. iii. c. 23. (7) Exposit. cited by Bossuet, Variat. l. xiv. pp. 6, 7.

and modern divines of the church of England, to clear her from this stain of Calvinism, nothing is more certain than that she was at first deeply infected with it. The 42 articles of Edward VI. and the 39 articles of Elizabeth, are evidently grounded in that doctrine; (1) which, however, is more expressly inculcated in the Lambeth articles, (2) approved of by the two archbishops, the bishop of London, &c. in 1595: "whose testimony," says the renowned Fuller, "is an infallible evidence, what was the general and received doctrine of the church of England in that age, about the forenamed controversies." (3) In the history of the university of Cambridge by this author, a strict churchman, we have evident proof that no other doctrine but that of Calvin was so much as tolerated by the established church, at the time I have been speaking of. "One W. Barret, fellow of Gonville and Caius college, preached *ad eternum* for his degree of bachelor in divinity, wherein he vented such doctrines, for which he was summoned, six days after, before the consistory of doctors, and there enjoined the following retraction:—1st, *I said that, No man is so strongly underpropped by the certainty of faith, as to be assured of his salvation*: but, now, I protest before God, that they which are justified by faith, are assured of their salvation with the certainty of faith.—2dly, I said, that *Certainty concerning the time to come is proud*: but now I protest that *justified faith can never be rooted out of the minds of the faithful*. 3dly, These words escaped me in my sermon: *I believe against Calvin, Peter Martyr, &c. that sin is the true, proper, and first cause of reprobation*. But now, being better instructed, I say that *the reprobation of the wicked is from everlasting*: and I am of the same mind concerning election, as the church of England teacheth in the articles of faith. Last of all, I uttered these words rashly against Calvin, a man that hath very well deserved of the church of God: that *he durst presume to lift himself above the high God*: by which words I have done great injury to that learned and right-godly man. I have also uttered many bitter words against Peter Martyr, Theodore

(1) Particularly the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 17th of the 39 articles. By the tenor of the 13th, among the 39, it would appear, that the impatience of Socrates, the integrity of Aristides, the continence of Scipio, and the patriotism of Cato, "had the nature of sin," because they were "works done before the grace of Christ." (2) Fuller's Church History, p. 230. (3) Fuller, p. 232.—N. B. On the point in question, Dr. Hey, vol. iv. p. 6, quotes the well-known speech of the great lord Chatham in parliament: "We have a Calvinistic creed, and an Arminian clergy."

Beza &c. being *the lights and ornaments of our church* calling them by the odious name of Calvinists, &c.” (1) Another proof of the former intolerance of the church of England, with respect to that moderate system, which all her present dignitaries hold, is the order drawn up by the archbishops and bishops in 1553, for government to act upon: namely, that “all incorrigible freewill men, &c. should be sent into some castle in North Wales, or at Wallingford, there to live of their own labour, and no one be suffered to resort to them, but their keepers, until they be found to repent their errors.” (2) A still stronger, as well as more authentic evidence of the former Calvinism of the English church, is furnished by the history and acts of the general Calvinistic synod of Dort, held against Vorstius, the successor of Arminius, who had endeavoured to modify that impious system. Our James I. who had the principal share in assembling this synod, was so indignant at the attempt, that in a letter to the states of Holland, he termed Vorstius, “the enemy of God,” and insisted on his being expelled; declaring, at the same time, that “it was his own duty, in quality of *defender of the faith*, with which title,” he said, “God had honoured him, to extirpate those cursed heresies, and to drive them to hell!” (3) To be brief, he sent Carlton and Davenport, the former being bishop of Llandaff, the latter of Salisbury, with two other dignitaries of the church of England, and Balcanquhal, on the part of the church of Scotland, to the synod; where they appeared among the foremost in condemning the Arminians, and in defining, that “God gives true and lively faith to those whom he resolves to withdraw from the common damnation, *and to them alone*; and that the true faithful, *by atrocious crimes, do not forfeit the grace of adoption and the state of justification!*” (4)

It might have been expected that the decrees of this synod would have greatly strengthened the system of Calvinism; whereas it is from the termination of it, which corresponds with the concluding part of the reign of James I. that we are to date the decline of it; especially in England. (5) Still great numbers of its adherents, under the name of Calvinists, and professing, not without reason, to maintain the original

(1) Fuller's Hist of Univ. of Camb. p. 150.—N. B. It will be evident to the reader that I have greatly abridged this curious recantation, which was too long to be quoted in full.

(2) Strype's Annals of Reform, vol. i. p. 214.

(3) Hist. Abreg. de Gerard Brandt, tom. ii. p. 2.

(4) Bossuet's Variat. vol. ii. pp. 291, 294, 304.

(5) Mosheim and Maclaine, vol. v. pp. 369, 389.

tenets of the church of England, subsist in this country, and their ministers arrogate to themselves the title of *evangelical preachers*. In like manner, the numerous and diversified societies of Methodists, whether Wesleyans or Whitfieldites, Moravians or Revivalists, New Itinerants or Jumpers, (1) are all partisans of the impious and immoral system of Calvin. The founder of the first-mentioned branch of these sectaries witnessed the follies and crimes which flowed from it, and tried to reform them by means of a laboured but groundless distinction. (2)

After all, the first and most sacred branch of holy doctrine consists in those articles which God has been pleased to reveal concerning his own divine nature and operations, namely the articles of *the unity and trinity of the Deity*, and of *the incarnation, death, and atonement of the consubstantial Son of God*. It is admitted that these mysteries have been abandoned by the Protestants of Geneva, Holland, and Germany. With respect to Scotland, a well-informed writer says, "It is certain that Scotland, like Geneva, has run from high Calvinism to almost as high Arianism or Socinianism: the exceptions, especially in the cities, are few." It will be gathered from many passages, which I have cited in my former letters, how widely extended, throughout the established church, is that "*tacit reform*" which a learned professor of its theology signifies to be the same thing with Socinianism. A judgment may also be formed of the prevalence of this system, by the act of July 21, 1813, exempting the professors of it from the penalties to which they were before subject. And yet this system, as I have before observed, is pronounced by the church of England, in her last made canons, "damnable and cursed heresy, being a complication of many former heresies, and contrariant to the articles of religion now established in the church of England." (3) I say nothing of the numerous Protestant victims, who have been burnt at the stake in this country, during the reigns of Edward VI. Elizabeth, and James I. for the errors in question, except to censure the inconsistency and cruelty of the proceeding: all that I had occasion to shew was, that most Protestants, and, among the rest, those of the English church, instead of uniformly maintaining at all times the same *holy doctrine*, heretofore abetted an impious and immoral system, namely, Calvinism, which they have since been constrained to reject: and that they

(1) See Evans's Sketch of all Religions

(2) See Postscript, p. 49.

(3) Constil. and Can. A.D. 1640.

have now compromised with impieties, which formerly they condemned as "damnable heresies," and punished with fire and fagot.

But it is time to speak of the doctrine of the Catholic Church. If this was once *holy*, namely, in the apostolic age, it is *holy* still; because the Church never changes her doctrine, nor suffers any person in her communion to change it, or to question any part of it. Hence the adorable mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c. taught by Christ and his apostles, and defined by the four first general councils, are now as firmly believed by every real Catholic, throughout her whole communion, as they were when those councils were held. Concerning the article of man's justification, so far from holding the impious and absurd doctrines imputed to her by her unnatural children (who sought for a pretext to desert from her), she rejects, she condemns, she anathematizes them! It is then false, and notoriously false, that Catholics believe, or in any age did believe, that they could justify themselves by their own proper merits;—or that they can do the least good, in the order of salvation, without the grace of God, merited for them by Jesus Christ;—or that we can deserve this grace, by any thing we have the power of doing: or that leave to commit sin, or even the pardon of any sin which has been committed, can be purchased of any person whatsoever;—or that the essence of religion and our hopes of salvation consist in forms and ceremonies, or in other exterior things. These and such other calumnies, or rather blasphemies, however frequently, or confidently repeated in popular sermons and controversial tracts, there is reason to think are not really believed by any Protestant of learning. (1) In fact, what ground is there, for maintaining them? Have they been defined by our councils? No: they have been condemned by them, and particularly by that of Trent. Are they taught in our catechisms, such as the *Catechismus ad Parochos*, the *General Catechism* of Ireland, the *Dorway Catechism*; or in our books of devotion; for example, those written by an à Kempis, a Sales, a Granada, and a Challoner?

(1) The Norrisian professor, Dr. Hey, says: "The reformed have departed so much from the rigour of their doctrine about faith, and the Romanists from theirs about good works, that there seems very little difference between them." Lect. vol. iii. p. 262. True, most of the reformers, after building their religion on *faith alone*, have now gone into the opposite heresy of *Pelagianism*, or at least *Semi-Pelagianism*: but Catholics hold exactly the same tenets regarding good works, which they ever held, and which were always very different from what Dr. Hey describes them to have been.

No: the contrary doctrine is, in these, and in our other books uniformly maintained. In a word, the Catholic Church teaches, and ever has taught, her children to trust for mercy, grace, and salvation, to the merits of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, she asserts that we have freewill, and that this being prevented by divine grace, can and must co-operate to our justification by faith; sorrow for our sins, and other corresponding acts of virtue, which God will not fail to bestow upon us, if we do not throw obstacles in the way of them. Thus is all honour and merit ascribed to the Creator, and every defect and sin attributed to the creature. The Catholic Church inculcates, moreover, the indispensable necessity of *humility*, as the groundwork of all virtues, by which, says St. Bernard, "from a thorough knowledge of ourselves we become little in our own estimation." I mention this Catholic lesson, in particular, because however strongly it is enforced by Christ and his disciples, it seems to be quite overlooked by Protestants; insomuch that they are perpetually *boasting* in their speeches and writings of the opposite vice, *pride*. In like manner, it appears from the abovementioned catechisms and spiritual works, what pains our Church bestows, in regulating the interior no less than the exterior, of her children, by repressing every thought or idea, contrary to religion or morality; of which matter I perceive little or no notice is taken in the catechism and tracts of Protestants. Finally the Catholic Church insists upon the necessity of being *perfect*, even as our heavenly Father is perfect, Matt. v. 48, by such an entire subjugation of our passions, and conformity of our will with that of God, that *our conversation may be in heaven*, while we are yet living here on earth. *Philip*, v. 20.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER XXII.

THE life of the late Rev. John Wesley, founder of the Methodists, which has been written by Dr. Whitehead, Dr. Coke, and others of his disciples, shews, in the clearest light, the errors and contradictions to which even a sincere and religious mind is subject, that is destitute of the clue to revealed truth, the living authority of the Catholic Church; as also the impiety and immorality of Calvinism. At first, that is to say, in the year 1729, Wesley was a modern Church-of-England-man, distinguished from other students at Oxford by nothing but a more strict and methodical form of life. Of course his doctrine then was the prevailing doctrine of that

church: this he preached in England and carried with him to America, whither he sailed to convert the Indians. Returning, however, to England in 1738, he writes as follows: "For many years I have been tossed about by various winds of doctrine," the particulars of which, and of the different schemes of salvation which he was inclined to trust in, he details. Falling, at last, however, into the hands of Peter Bohler and his Moravian brethren, who met in Fetter-lane, he became a warm proselyte to their system: declaring at the same time, with respect to his past religion, that *hitherto he had been a Papist without knowing it*. We may judge of his ardour by his exclamation when Peter Bohler left England: "O what a work hath God begun since his (Bohler's) coming to England; such a one as shall never come to an end till heaven and earth shall pass away." To cement his union with this society, and to instruct himself more fully in its mysteries, he made a journey to Hernuth in Moravia, which is the chief seat of the United Brethren. It was whilst he was a Moravian, namely, "on the 24th of May, 1738, a quarter of an hour before nine in the evening," that John Wesley, by his own account, was "saved from the law of sin and death." This all-important event happened "at a meeting-house in Aldersgate-street, while a person was reading Luther's preface to the Galatians." Nevertheless, though he had professed such deep obligations to the Moravians, he soon found out and declared that theirs was not the right way to heaven. In fact he found them, and "nine parts in ten of the Methodists," who adhered to them, "swallowed up in the dead sea of stillness, opposing the ordinances, namely, prayer, reading the scripture, frequenting the sacrament and public worship, selling their bibles, &c. in order to rely more fully 'on the blood of the Lamb.'" In short, Wesley abandoned the Moravian connexion and set up that which is properly his own religion, as it is detailed by Nightingale, in his *Portraiture of Methodism*. This happened in 1740, soon after which he broke off from his rival Whitfield. In fact, they maintained quite opposite doctrines on several essential points: still the tenet of instantaneous justification, without repentance, charity, or other good works, and the actual feeling and certainty of this and of everlasting happiness, continued to be the essential and vital principles of Wesley's system, as they are of the Calvinistic sects in general; till having witnessed the horrible impieties and crimes to which it conducted, he, at a conference or synod of his preachers, in 1744, declared that he and they had "leaned too much to Calvinism and Antinomianism." In

answer to the question: "What is Antinomianism?" Wesley in the same conference answers: "The doctrine which makes void the law through faith. Its main pillars are, that Christ abolished the moral law;—that, therefore, Christians are not obliged to keep it;—that Christian liberty, is liberty from obeying the commands of God;—that it is bondage to do a thing because it is commanded, or forbear it because it is forbidden;—that a believer is not obliged to use the ordinances of God, or to do good works;—that a preacher ought not to exhort to good works." &c. See here the essential morality of the religion which Wesley had hitherto followed and preached, as drawn by his own pen, and which still continues to be preached by the other sects of Methodists. We shall hereafter see in what manner he changed it. The very mention, however, of a change in this groundwork of Methodism, inflamed all the Methodist connexions. Accordingly, the Hon and Rev. Mr. Shirley, chaplain to Lady Huntingdon, in a circular letter, written at her desire, declared against the *dreadful heresy* of Wesley, which, as he expressed himself, "*injured the foundation of Christianity.*" He, therefore, summoned another conference, which severely censured Wesley. On the other hand, this patriarch was strongly supported, and particularly by Fletcher of Madeley, an able writer, whom he had destined to succeed him; as the head of his connexion. Instead of being offended at his master's change, Fletcher says: "I admire the candour of an old man of God, who, instead of obstinately maintaining an old mistake, comes down like a little child, and acknowledges it before his preachers, whom it is his interest to secure." The same Fletcher published seven volumes of *Checks to Antinomianism*, in vindication of Wesley's change in this essential point of his religion. In these he brings the most convincing proofs and examples of the impiety and immorality to which the enthusiasm of Antinomian Calvinism had conducted the Methodists. He mentions a highwayman, lately executed in his neighbourhood, who vindicated his crimes upon this principle. He mentions other more odious instances of wickedness, which, to his knowledge, had flowed from it. All these, he says, are represented by their preachers to be damning sins in Turks and Pagans, but only spots in God's children." He adds, "There are few of our celebrated pulpits, where more has not been said *for sin than against it!*" He quotes an hon. M. P. "once my brother," he says, "but now my opponent," who in his published treatise maintains, that "murder and adultery do not hurt the pleasant children (the

elects), but even work for their good:" adding, "My sins may displease God, my person is always acceptable to him. Though I should out sin Manasses himself, I should not be less a pleasant child, because God always views me in Christ. Hence, in the midst of adulteries, murders, and incests, he can address me with: *Thou art all fair my love, my undefiled: there is no spot in thee.* It is a most pernicious error of the schoolmen to distinguish sins *according to the fact*, not according to the person. Though I highly blame those who say, *let us sin that grace may abound*; yet adultery, incest, and murder shall, upon the whole, make me holier on earth and merrier in heaven!" It only remains to shew in what manner Wesley purified his religious system, as he thought, from the defilement of Antinomianism. To be brief, he invented a two-fold mode of justification, one without repentance, the love of God, or other works; the other, to which these works were essential: the former was for those who die soon after their pretended experience of saving faith, the latter for those who have time and opportunity of performing them. Thus, to say no more of the system, a Nero and Robespierre might, according to it, have been established in the grace of God, and in a right to the realms of infinite purity, without one act of sorrow for their enormities, or so much as an act of their belief in God!

ON THE MEANS OF SANCTITY.

LETTER XXIII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—The *efficient cause* of justification, or sanctity, according to the council of Trent, (1) is the mercy of God through the merits of Jesus Christ; still, in the usual economy of his grace, he makes use of certain instruments or means, both for conferring and increasing it. The principal and most efficacious of these are **THE SACRAMENTS**. Fortunately, the established church agrees in the main sense with the Catholic and other Christian churches, when she defines a sacrament to be, "An outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace, given unto us, and ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same; and a pledge to

(1) Sess vi. cap. 7.

assure us thereof." (1). But though she agrees with other Protestant communions in reducing the number of these to two, *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, she differs with all others, namely, the Catholic, the Greek, the Russian, the Armenian, the Nestorian, the Eutychian, the Coptic, the Ethiopian, &c. all of which firmly maintain, and ever have maintained, as well since, as before their respective desertions from us, the whole collection of the *seven Sacraments*. (2) This fact alone refutes the airy speculations of Protestants concerning the origin of the five sacraments, which they reject, and thus demonstrates that they are deprived of as many divinely instituted instruments or means of sanctity. As these seven channels of grace, though all supplied from the same fountain of Christ's merits, supply, each of them, a separate grace, adapted to the different wants of the faithful, and as each of them furnishes matter of observation for the present discussion, so I shall take a cursory view of them.

The first sacrament, in point of order and necessity, is *Baptism*. In fact, no authority can be more express than that of the scripture, as to this necessity. *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, says Christ, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* John, iii. 5. *Repent, cries St. Peter, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus for the remission of sins.* Acts, ii, 38. *Arise, answered Ananias to St. Paul, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins.* Acts, xxii. 16. This necessity was heretofore acknowledged by the church of England, at least, as appears from her articles, and still more clearly from her liturgy, (3) and the works of her eminent divines. (4) Hence, as baptism is valid, by whomsoever it is conferred, the English church may be said to have been upon an equal footing with the Catholic church, as much as concerns this instrument or means of holiness. But the case is different now, since that *tacit reformation*, which is acknowledged to have taken place in her. This has nearly swept out of her both the belief of original sin and of its necessary remedy, baptism. "That we are born guilty," the great authority, Dr. Balguy says, "is either unintelligible or impossible."

(1) Catechism in Com. Prayer.—N. B. The last clause in this definition is far too strong, as it seems to imply, that every person, who is partaker of the outward part of a sacrament, necessarily receives the grace of it; whatever may be his dispositions: an impiety which the bishop of Lincoln calumniously attributes to the Catholics. *Elements of Theol.* vol. ii. p. 436

(2) This important fact is incontrovertibly proved in the celebrated work *La Perpetuité de la Foi*, from original documents procured by Louis XIV. and preserved in the king's library at Paris.

(3) Common Prayer.

(4) See B. Pearson on the Creed, Art. x. Hooker, Eccl. Polit. B. v. p. 60.

Accordingly he teaches, that the rite of baptism is no more than a *representation* of our entrance into the Church of Christ." Elsewhere he says: "The sign (of a sacrament) is *declamatory* not *efficient*." (1) Dr. Hey says, the negligence of the parent, with respect to procuring baptism, "*may* affect the child: to say it *will* affect him, is to run into the error I am condemning." (2) Even the bishop of Lincoln calls it, "an unauthorized principle of Papists, that no person whatsoever can be saved who has not been baptized." (3) Where the doctrine of baptism is so lax, we may be sure the practice of it will not be more strict. Accordingly, we have abundant proofs, that, from the frequent and long delays respecting the administration of this sacrament, which occur in the establishment, very many children die without receiving it; and that, from the negligence of ministers, as to the right matter and form of words, many more children receive it invalidly. Look, on the other hand, at the Catholic Church: you will find the same importance still attached to this sacred rite, on the part of the people and the clergy, which is observable in the acts of the apostles and in the writings of the holy fathers; the former being ever impatient to have their children baptized, the latter equally solicitous to administer it in due time, and with the most scrupulous exactness. Thus, as matters stand now, the two Churches are not upon a level with respect to this first and common means of sanctification: the members of one have a much greater moral certainty of the remission of that sin, in which we were all born, and of their having been heretofore actually received into the Church of Christ, than the members of the other have. It would be too tedious a task to treat of the tenets of other Protestants, on this and the corresponding matters: let it suffice to say, that the synod of Dort, representing all the Calvinistic states of Europe, formally decided, that the children of the elect are included in the covenant made with their parents, and thus are exempt from the necessity of baptism, as likewise of faith and morality; being thus insured, themselves and all their posterity, till the end of time of their justification and salvation." (4)

Concerning the second channel of grace, or means of sanc-

(1) Charge vii. pp. 298, 800. (2) Lectures in Divinity, vol. iii. p. 182:

(3) Vol. ii. p. 470. The learned prelate can hardly be supposed ignorant that many of our martyrs, recorded in our Martyrology and our Breviary, are expressly declared not to have been *actually* baptized; or that our divines unanimously teach, that not only the baptism of blood by martyrdom, but also a sincere desire of being baptized, suffices, where the means of baptism are wanting. (4) Bossuet, Variat. Book xiv. p. 46.

tity; *Confirmation*, there is no question: The church of England, which among the different Protestant societies alone, I believe, lays claim to any part of this rite under the title of *The ceremony of laying on of hands*, expressly teaches at the same time that it is *no sacrament*, as not being *ordained by God*, or an *effectual sign of grace*. (1) But the Catholic Church, instructed by the solicitude of the apostles; to *strengthen* the faith of those of her children who had received it in baptism, (2) and by the lessons of Christ himself, concerning the importance of receiving that Holy Spirit which is communicated in this sacrament, (3) religiously retains and faithfully administers it to them, for the selfsame purpose, through all ages. In a word, those who are true Christians, by virtue of baptism, are not made perfect Christians, except by virtue of the sacrament of confirmation, which none of the Protestant societies so much as lays claim to.

On the third sacrament, indeed, *the Lord's Supper*; as they call it, the Protestant societies and particularly the church of England in her Prayer-book say great things: nevertheless, what is it, after all, upon her own shewing? Mere *bread* and *wine* received in memory of Christ's passion and death, in order to excite the receiver's faith in him: that is to say, it is a bare *type* or *memorial* of Christ. Any thing may be instituted to be a type or memorial of another thing; but certainly the Jews in their paschal lamb, had a more lively figure of the death of Christ, and so have Christians in each of the four evangelists, than *eating bread* and *drinking wine* can be. Hence I infer, that the communion of Protestants, according to their belief and practice in this country, cannot be more than a feeble excitement to their devotion, and an inefficient help to their sanctification. But, if Christ is to be believed upon his own solemn declaration, where he says; *Take ye and eat; this is my body: drink ye all of this; for this is my blood*, Matt. xxvi. 27. *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed*, John, vi. 56. ; then the holy communion of Catholics is beyond all expression and all conception, not only the most powerful stimulative to our faith, our hope, our love, and our contrition, but also the most efficacious means of obtaining these and all other graces from the Divine Bounty. Those Catholics who frequent this sacrament with the suitable dispositions, are the best judges of the truth of what I here say: nevertheless many Protestants have been converted to the Catholic Church from the ardent desire they felt of receiving

(1) Art. xxv.

(2) Acts, viii. 14.—xix: 2.

(3) John, xvi.

the Saviour Christ himself into their bosoms. instead of a bare memorial of him, and from a just conviction of the spiritual benefits they would derive from this intimate union with him.

The four remaining instruments of grace, *Penance, Extreme Unction, Order* and *Matrimony*, Protestants in general give up to us no less than Confirmation. The bishop of Lincoln. (1) Dr. Hey, (2) and other controvertists, pretend that it was Peter Lombard, in the 12th century, who made sacraments of them. True it is, that this industrious theologian collected together the different passages of the fathers, and arranged them, with proper definitions of each subject, in their present scholastic order, not only respecting the sacraments, but likewise the other branches of divinity; on which account he is called *The Master of the Sciences*: but this writer could as soon have introduced Mahometanism into the Church, as the belief of any one sacrament which it had not before received as such. Besides, supposing him to have deceived the Latin Church into this belief; I ask, by what means were the schismatical Greek churches fascinated into it? In short, though these holy rites had not been endued by Christ with a sacramental grace, yet, practised as they are in the Catholic Church, they would still be great helps to piety and Christian morality.

What I have just asserted concerning these five sacraments in general, is particularly true with respect to the sacrament of *Penance*. For what does this consist of? and what is the preparation for it, as set forth by all our councils, catechisms, and prayer-books? There must first be fervent prayer to God for his light and strength; next an impartial examination of the conscience, to acquire that most important of all sciences, the knowledge of ourselves; then true sorrow for our sins, with a firm purpose of amendment, which is the most essential part of the sacrament. After this there must be a sincere exposure of the interior to a confidential, and, at the same time, a learned, experienced, and disinterested director. If he could afford no other benefit to his penitents, yet how inestimable are those of his making known to them many defects and many duties, which their self-love had probably overlooked; of his prescribing to them the proper remedies for their spiritual maladies; and of his requiring them to make restitution for every injury done to each injured neighbour! But we are well assured, that these are far from being the only benefits, which the minister of this sacrament

(4) Elem. vol. ii. p. 414.

(2) Lect. vol. i. p. 109.

can confer upon the subject of it: for it was not an empty compliment which Christ paid to his apostles, when, *breathing on them, he said to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye shall remit, they are remitted; and whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained.* John, xx. 22, 23. O sweet balm of the wounded spirit! O sovereign restorative of the soul's life and vigour! best known to those who faithfully use thee. and not untasted by those who neglect and blaspheme thee! (1)

It might appear strange, if we were not accustomed to similar inconsistencies, that those who profess to make scripture; in its plain obvious sense, the sole rule of their faith and practice, should deny *extreme unction* to be a sacrament, the external sign of which, *anointing the sick*, and the spiritual effect of which, the *forgiveness of sins*, are so expressly declared by St. James in his epistle, v, 14. Martin Luther, indeed, who had taken offence at this epistle, for its insisting so strongly on good works, (2) rejected the authority of this epistle, alleging that it was "not lawful for an apostle to institute a sacrament." (3) But I trust that you, dear sir, and your conscientious society, will agree with me, that it is more incredible that an apostle of Christ should be ignorant of what he was authorized by him to say and do, than that a profligate German friar should be guilty of blasphemy. Indeed, the church of England, in the first form of her Common-prayer in Edward's reign, enjoined the unction of the sick, as well as the prayer for them. (4) It was evidently well worthy the mercy and bounty of our divine Saviour, to institute a special sacrament for purifying and strengthening us at a time of our greatest need and terror. Owing to the institution of this and the two other sacraments, penance and the real body and blood of our Lord, it is a fact, that few, very few Catholics die without the assistance of their clergy; which, assistance the latter are bound to afford, at the expense of ease, fortune, and life itself, to the most indigent and abject of their flock, who are in danger of death, no less than to the rich and the great! while, on the other hand, very few Protestants, in the extremity, partake at all of the cold rites of their religion; though one of them is declared, in the catechism, to be "necessary for salvation!"

(1) See the Form of Ordaining Priests, in bishop Sparrow's Collect. p. 158; also the Form of Absolution; in the Visitation of the Sick, in the Common Prayer. (2) Luther, in his original Jena edition of his works, calls this epistle "a dry and chaffy epistle, unworthy an apostle."

(3) Ibid. (4) See Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 257.

It is equally strange that a clergy, with such high claims and important advantages as those of the establishment, should deny that the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, are sacramental, or that the episcopal form of church-government, and of ordaining the clergy, is in preference to any other required by scripture. In fact, this is telling the legislature and the nation, that if they prefer the less expensive ministry of the Presbyterians or Methodists, there is nothing divine or essential in the ministry itself which will be injured by the change; and that clergymen may be as validly ordained by the town-crier with his bell, as by the metropolitan's imposition of hands! Nevertheless strange as it appears, this is the doctrine, not only of Hoadly's Socinian school, as I have elsewhere demonstrated, (1) but also of those modern divines and dignitaries who are the standard of orthodoxy. (2) Thus are the clergy of the English church, as well as all other Protestant ministers, by their own confession, destitute of all sacramental grace for performing their functions holily and beneficially. (3) But, we know, conformably to the doctrine of St. Paul, in both his epistles to Timothy, 1 *Tim.* iv. 14, 2 *Tim.* i. 6, with the constant doctrine of the Catholic Church, and of all other ancient churches, that this grace is conferred on those who are truly ordained and in fit dispositions to receive it. We know, moreover, that the persuasion which the faithful entertain of the divine character and grace of their clergy, gives a great additional weight to their lessons and ministry. In like manner, with respect to *matrimony*, which the same apostle expressly calls a *sacrament*, Ephes. v. 32, the very idea of its *sanctity*, independently of its peculiar *grace*, is a preparation for entering into that state with religious dispositions.

Next to the sacraments of the Catholic Church, as helps to holiness and salvation, I must mention her public service. We continually hear the advocates of the establishment crying up the beauty and perfection of their liturgy; (4) but they have not the candour to inform the public that it is all, in a manner, borrowed from the Catholic Missal and Ritual. Of this fact any one may satisfy himself, who will compare the prayers, lessons, and gospels, in these Catholic books, with those in the *Book of Common Prayer*. But, though our ser-

(1) Dr. Balguy, Dr. Hey, &c. of Theol. vol. ii. pp. 376, 396. Letter VIII.

(2) The bishop of Lincoln's Elem. (3) See Letters to a Prebendary, Disc. p. 237

(4) Dr. Rennel calls the Church liturgy "the most perfect of human compositions and the sacred legacy of the first reformers.

vice has been thus purloined, it has by no means been preserved entire : on the contrary, we find it, in the latter, eviscerated of its noblest parts ; particularly with respect to the principal and essential worship of all the ancient churches, the holy Mass, which, from a true propitiatory sacrifice, as it stands in all their Missals, is cut down to a mere verbal worship, in *The Order for Morning Prayer*. Hence, our James I. pronounced of the latter, that it is *an ill-said Mass*. The servants of God had, by his appointment, SACRIFICE both under the law of nature and the written law; it would then be extraordinary, if under the law of grace they were left destitute of this the most sublime and excellent act of religion which man can offer to his Creator. But we are not left destitute of it : on the contrary, that prophecy of Malachy is fulfilled, *Mal. i. 11. In every place, from the rising to the setting of the sun, sacrifice is offered and a pure oblation* ; even Christ himself, who is really present and mystically offered on our altars in the sacrifice of the Mass.

I pass over the solemnity, the order, and the magnificence of our public worship and ritual in Catholic countries, which most candid Protestants, who have witnessed them, allow to be exceedingly impressive and great helps to devotion ; and which certainly, in most particulars, find their parallel in the worship and ceremonies of the old law, ordained by God himself. Nevertheless, it is a gross calumny to assert that the Catholic Church does, or ever did, make the essence of religion to consist in these externals ; and we challenge them to our councils and doctrinal books in refutation of the calumny. In like manner, I pass over the many private exercises of piety which are generally practised in regular Catholic families and by individuals ; such as daily meditation and spiritual reading, evening prayers, and examination of the conscience, &c. These, it will not be denied, must be helps to attain sanctity for those who are desirous of it. But I have said more than enough to convince your friends in which of the rival communions the means of sanctity are to be found.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

ON THE FRUITS OF SANCTITY.

LETTER XXIV.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—The fruits of sanctity are the virtues practised by those who are possessed of it. Hence the present question is, whether these are to be found, or the most part, among the members of the ancient Catholic Church, or among the different innovators who undertook to reform it in the 16th and 17th centuries? In considering the subject, the first thing that strikes me is, that all the saints, and even those who are recorded as such in the calendar of the church of England, and in whose names their churches are dedicated, lived and died strict members of the Catholic Church, and zealously attached to her doctrine and discipline. (1) For example, in this calendar we meet with a pope Gregory, March 12, the zealous assertor of the papal supremacy, (2) and other Catholic doctrines; a St. Benedict, March 21, the patriarch of the western monks and nuns; a St. Dunstan, May 19, the vindicator of clerical celibacy; a St. Augustin of Canterbury, May 26, the introducer of the whole system of Catholicity into England: and a venerable Bede, May 27, the witness of this important fact. It is sufficient to mention the names of other Catholic saints; for example, David, Chad, Edward, Richard, Elphege, Martin, Swithun, Giles, Lambert, Leonard, Hugh, Etheldreda, Remigius, and Edmund; all of which are inserted in the calendar, and give names to the churches of the establishment. Besides these, there are very many of our other saints, whom all learned and candid Protestants unequivocally admit to have been such, for the extraordinary purity and sanctity of their lives. Even Luther acknowledges St. Antony, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Bonaventure, &c. to have been saints, though avowed Catholics, and defenders of the Catholic Church against the heretics and schismatics of their time. But, independently

(1) I must except king Charles I. who is rubricated as a martyr on Jan. 31: nevertheless, it is confessed that he was far from possessing either the purity of a saint or the constancy of a martyr: for he actually gave up episcopacy and other essentials of the established religion by his last treaty in the Isle of Wight. . . . (2) Many Protestant writers pretended that Gregory disclaimed the supremacy, because he asserted, against John of Constantinople, that neither he nor any other prelate ought to assume the title of *universal bishop*; but that he claimed and exercised the *supremacy*, his own works and the history of Bede incontrovertibly demonstrate.

of this and of every other testimony, it is certain that the supernatural virtues and heroical sanctity of a countless number of holy personages of different countries, ranks, professions, and sexes, have illustrated the Catholic Church in every age, with an effulgence which cannot be disputed or withstood. Your friends, I dare say, are not much acquainted with the histories of these brightest ornaments of Christianity: let me then invite them to peruse them; not in the legends of obsolete writers, but in a work which, for its various learning and luminous criticism, was commended even by the infidel Gibbon; I mean *The Lives of Saints*, in twelve octavo volumes, written by the late Rev. Alban Butler, president of St. Omer's college. Protestants are accustomed to paint, in the most frightful colours, the alleged depravity of the Church, when Luther erected his standard, in order to justify him and his followers' defection from it. But to form a right judgment in the case, let them read the works of the contemporary writers, an à Kempis, a Gerson, an Antoninus, &c.; or let them peruse the lives of St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Laurence Justinian, St. Francis Paula, St. Philip Neri, St. Cajetan, St. Teresa, St. Francis Xavierius, and of those other saints who illuminated the Church about the period in question. Or let them, from the very accounts of Protestant historians, compare, as to religion and morality, archbishop Cranmer with his rival bishop Fisher; protector Seymour with chancellor More; Ann Boleyn with Catharine of Arragon; Martin Luther and Calvin with Francis Xavierius and cardinal Pole; Beza with St. Francis of Sales; queen Elizabeth with Mary queen of Scots; these contrasted characters having more or less relation with each other. From such a comparison, I have no sort of doubt what the decision of your friends will be concerning them in point of their respective holiness.

I have heretofore been called upon to consider the virtues and merits of the most distinguished reformers; (1) and certainly we have a right to expect from persons of this description finished models of virtue and piety. But, instead of this being the case, I have shewn that patriarch Luther was the sport of his unbridled passions, (2) pride, resentment, and lust; that he was turbulent, abusive, and sacrilegious, in the highest degree; that he was the trumpeter of sedition, civil war, rebellion, and desolation; and finally, that by his own account, he was the scholar of satan, in the most important

(1) Reflections on Popery, by Dr. Sturges, LL. D. &c.

(2) Letter to a Preb. Let. v.

article of his pretended reformation. (1) I have made out nearly as heavy a charge against his chief followers Carlostad, Zuinglius, Ochin, Calvin, Beza, and Crammer. With respect to the last named, who under Edward VI. and his fratricide uncle, the duke of Somerset, was the chief artificer of the Anglican church, I have shewn that, from his youthful life in a college, till his death at the stake, he exhibited such a continued scene of liberalism, perjury, hypocrisy, barbarity (in burning his fellow-Protestants), profligacy, ingratitude, and rebellion, as is, perhaps, not to be matched in history. I have proved that all his fellow-labourers and fellow-sufferers were rebels like himself, who would have been put to death by Elizabeth, if they had not been executed by Mary. I adduced the testimony not only of Erasmus and other Catholics, but also of the greatest Protestant historians, and of the very reformers themselves, in proof that the morals of the people, so far from being changed for the better, by embracing the new religion, were greatly changed for the worse. (2) The pretended Reformation, in foreign countries, as in Germany, the Netherlands, at Geneva, in Switzerland, France, and Scotland, besides producing popular insurrections, sack-ages, demolitions, sacrileges, and persecution beyond description, excited also open rebellions and bloody civil wars. (3) In England, where our writers boast of the orderly

(1) Letters to a Prebendary, Lot. v, where Satan's conference with Luther and the arguments by which he induces this reformer to abolish the Mass are detailed from Luther's works. Tom. vii. p. 228. (2) Ibid. (3) The Huguenots in Dauphiny alone, as one of their writers confesses, burnt down 900 towns and villages, and murdered 378 priests or religious, in the course of one rebellion. The number of churches destroyed by them throughout France is computed at 20,000. The History of England's Reformation (though this was certainly more orderly than that of other countries) has caused the conversion of many English Protestants: it produced this effect on James II. and his first consort, the mother of queen Mary and queen Ann. The following is the account which the latter has left of this change, and which is to be found in Dodd's last volume, and in, the Fifty Reasons of the Duke of Brunswick. "Seeing much of the devotion of the Catholics, I made it my constant prayer that, if I were not, I might, before I died, be in the true religion." I did not doubt but that I was so till November last, when reading a book called *The History of the Reformation*, by Dr. Heylin, which I had heard very much commended, and had been told; if ever I had any doubts in my religion, that would settle me: instead of which I found it the description of the horridest sacrileges in the world; and could find no cause why we left the Church, but for three the most abominable ones: 1st, Henry VIII. renounced the pope, because he would not give him leave to part with his wife and marry another: 2dly, Edward VI. was a child and governed by his uncle, who made his estate out of the church lands: 3dly, Elizabeth not being lawful heiress of the crown, had no way to keep it but by renouncing a Church which would not

manner in which the change of religion was carried on; it nevertheless most unjustly and sacrilegiously seized upon and destroyed in the reign of Henry VIII. 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, and 110 hospitals; besides the bishopric of Durham; and under Edward VI. or rather his profligate uncle, dissolved 2,374 colleges, chapels, or hospitals, in order to make princely fortunes of that property for that uncle and his unprincipled comrades, who, like banditti, quarrelling over their spoils, soon brought each other to the block. Such were the fruits of sanctity every where produced by this Reformation!

I am, dear sir, &c. JOHN MILNER.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER XXV.—To Mr. J. TOULMIN.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter, animadverting upon mine to our common friend, Mr. Brown, respecting the fruits of sanctity, as they appear in our respective communions. I observe, you do not contest my general facts or arguments, but resort to objections which have been already answered in these, or in my other letters now before the public. You assert, as a notorious fact, that for several ages prior to the Reformation, the Catholic religion was sunk into ceremonies and pageantry, and that it sanctioned the most atrocious crimes. In refutation of these calumnies, I have referred to our councils, to our most accredited authors on religion and morality, and to the lives and deaths of our most renowned saints, during the ages in question. I grant, sir, that you hold the same language on this subject that our Protestant writers do; but I maintain that none of them make good their charges; and that their motive for advancing them, is to find a pretext for excusing the irreligion of the pretended Reformation. You next extol the alleged sanctity of the Protestant sufferers, called martyrs, in the unhappy persecution of queen Mary's reign. I have discussed this matter at some length in *The Letters to a Presbendary*, and have shewn, in opposition to John Fox and his copyists, that some of these pretended martyrs were alive when he wrote the history of

suffer so unlawful a thing. I confess I cannot think the Holy Ghost could ever be in such councils.—*Declaration of the Duchess of York.*

their death; (1) that others of them, and the five bishops in particular, so far from being saints, were notoriously deficient in the ordinary duties of good subjects and honest men; (2) that others again were notorious assassins, as Gardiner, Flower, and Rough: or robbers, as Debenham, King, Marsh, Cauches, Gilbert, Massy, &c. (3) while not a few of them retracted their errors, as Bilney, Taylor, Wassalia, and died, to all appearance, Catholics. To the whole ponderous folio of Fox's falsehoods, I have opposed the genuine and edifying *Memoirs of Missionary Priests and other Catholics, who suffered death for their Religion* during the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuarts. Finally, you reproach me with the scandalous lives of some of our popes, during the middle ages, and of very many Catholics of different descriptions, throughout the Church at the present day; and you refer me to the edifying lives of a great number of Protestants now living in this country.

My answer, dear sir, to your concluding objections is briefly this: that I, as well as Baronius, Bellarmin, and other Catholic writers, have unequivocally admitted that some few of our pontiffs have disgraced themselves by their crimes, and given just cause of scandal to Christendom; (4) but I have remarked, that the credit of our cause is not affected by the personal conduct of particular pastors, who succeed one another in a *regular way*, in the same manner in which the credit of yours is affected by the behaviour of your *founders*, who professed to have received an *extraordinary commission from God to reform religion*. (5) I acknowledge with the same unreservedness, that the lives of a great proportion of Catholics; in this and other parts of the Church, is a disgrace to that *holy Catholic Church* which they profess to believe in. Unhappy members of the true religion *by whom the name of God* (and of his holy Church) *is blasphemed among the nations!* Rom. ii. 24. Unhappy Catholics, who *live enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, who mind only earthly things!* Philip. iii. 18. But, *it must needs be that scandals should come: nevertheless, we to that man by whom the scandal cometh!* Matt. xviii. 7. In short, I bear a willing testimony to the public and private worth of very many of my Protestant countrymen of different religions, as citizens, as subjects, as friends, as children, as parents, as moral men, and as Christians, in the general sense of the word; still I

(1) See Letter iv. on Persecution. (2) See Letter v. on the Reformation. (3) Letter iv. (4) See Letter II. on Supremacy. (5) Ibid.

must say that I find the best of them far short of the *holiness* which is prescribed in the gospel, and is exemplified in the lives of those saints whom I have mentioned. On this subject I quote an authority which, I think, you will not object to. Dr. Hey says: "In England, I could almost say we are too little acquainted with contemplative religion." The monk, painted by Sterne, may give us a more favourable idea of it than our prejudices generally suggest. I once travelled with a *Recolet*, and conversed with a *Minim* at his convent; and they both had that kind of character which Sterne gives to his monk: that refinement of body and mind, that pure glow of meliorated passion, that polished piety and humanity." (1) In a former letter to your society, I have stated that sincere humility, by which, from a thorough knowledge of our sins and misery, we become little in our own eyes, and try to avoid rather than to gain the praise and notice of others, is the very ground-work of all other Christian virtues. It has been objected to Protestants, ever since the defection of their arrogant patriarch; Luther, that they have said little, and have appeared to understand less, of this essential virtue. I might say the same with respect to the necessity of an entire subjugation of our other congenial passions, avarice, lust, anger, intemperance, envy, and sloth, as I have said of pride and vain-glory; but I pass over these to say a few words of certain maxims expressly contained in scripture. It cannot then be denied that our Saviour said to the rich young man: *If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasures in heaven*; or that he declared on another occasion: *There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs (continent) for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.* Matt. xix. 12. Now it is notorious that this life of voluntary poverty and perpetual chastity continues to be vowed and observed by great numbers of both sexes in the Catholic Church; while it is nothing more than a subject of ridicule to the best of Protestants. Again: "that we ought to fast is a truth more manifest than it should here need be proved." I here use the words of the church of England in her homily iv. p. 11; conformably with which doctrine your church enjoins, in her Common Prayer-book, the same days of fasting and abstinence as the Catholic Church does; namely, the forty days of Lent, the ember-days, all the Fridays in the year, &c. nevertheless, where is the Protestant to be found

who will submit to the mortification of fasting, even to obey his own church? I may add, that Christ enjoins *constant prayer*, Luke, xviii. 1; conformably to which injunction, the Catholic Church requires her clergy at least, from the sub-deacon up to the pope, daily to say the seven canonical hours, consisting chiefly of scriptural psalms and lessons, which take up in the recital near an hour and a half, in addition to their other devotions. Now, what pretext had the Protestant clergy, whose pastoral duties are so much lighter than ours, to lay aside these inspired prayers, except indevotion? Luther himself said his office, for some time after his apostacy. But to conclude: as it is of so much importance to ascertain which is the *holy Church* mentioned in your creed, and as you can follow no better rule for this purpose, than to *judge of the tree by its fruits*, so let me advise you and your friends, to make use of every means in your power, to compare regular families, places of education, and especially ecclesiastical establishments of the different communions, with each other, as to morality and piety, and to decide for yourselves according to what you observe in them.

I am, dear sir, &c. JOHN MILNER.

ON DIVINE ATTESTATION OF SANCTITY.

LETTER XXVI.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—Having demonstrated the distinctive holiness of the Catholic Church, in her *doctrine*, her *practices*, and her *fruits* of sanctity, I am prepared to shew that God himself has borne testimony to her holiness, and to those very doctrines and practices, which Protestants object to as unholy and superstitious, by the many incontestible miracles he has wrought in her and in their favour, from the age of the apostles down to the present age.

The learned Protestant advocates of revelation, such as Grotius, Abbadie, Paley, Watson, &c. in defending this common cause against infidels, all agree in the sentiment of the last-named, that “miracles are the criterion of truth.” Accordingly they observe, that both Moses, *Exod.* iv. xiv, *Numb.* xiv. 22, and Jesus Christ, *John*, x. 37, 38, xiv. 12, xv. 24, constantly appealed to the prodigies they wrought, in attestation of their divine mission and doctrine. Indeed the whole history of God’s people, from the beginning of the world

down to the time of our blessed Saviour, was nearly a continued series of miracles. (1) The latter, so far from confining the power of working them to his own person or time, expressly promised the same; and even a greater power of this nature, to his disciples, *Mark*, xvi. 17, *John*, xiv. 12. For both the reasons here mentioned, namely, that the Almighty was pleased to illustrate the society of his chosen servants, both under the law of nature and the written law, with frequent miracles, and that Christ promised a continuance of them to his disciples under the new law. We are led to expect that the true Church should be distinguished by miracles wrought in her, and in proof of her divine origin. Accordingly, the fathers and doctors of the Catholic Church, among other proofs in her favour, have constantly appealed to the miracles, by which she is illustrated, and reproached their contemporary heretics and schismatics with the want of them. Thus St. Irenæus, a disciple of St. Polycarp, who himself was a disciple of St. John the evangelist, reproaches the heretics, against whom he writes, that they could not give sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, cast out devils, or raise the dead to life, as he testifies was frequently done in the true Church. (2) Thus also his contemporary, Tertullian, speaking of the heretics, says: "I wish to see the miracles they have wrought." (3) St. Pacian, in the fourth century, writing against the schismatic Novatus, scornfully asks: "Has he the gift of tongues or prophecy? Has he restored the dead to life?" (4) The great St. Augustin, in various passages of his works, refers to the miracles wrought in the Catholic Church, in evidence of her veracity. (5) St. Nicetas, bishop of Treves, in the sixth century, in order to convert her husband, Alboin, king of the Lombards, from Arianism, advises quæen Clodovind to induce him to send confidential messengers to witness the miracles wrought at the tomb of St. Martin, St. Germanus, or St. Hilary, in giving sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, &c. adding: "Are such things done in the churches of the

. (1) To say nothing of the urim and thummim, the water of jealousy, and the superabundant harvest of the sabbatical year, it is incontestable, from the gospel of St. John, v. 2, that the probatical pond was endowed by an angel with a miraculous power of healing every kind of disease, in the time of Christ. (2) Lib. ii. contr. Hær. c. 31. (3) Lib. de Præscr. (4) Ep. ii. ad Symphor. (5) "Dubitamus nos ejus ecclesiæ condere gremio, quæ usque ad confessionem generis humani ab apostolica sede, per successionem episcoporum (frustra hæreticis circumlatantibus, et partim plebis ipsius judicio, partim conciliorum gravitate, partim etiam miraculorum maiestate damnatis) culmen auctoritatis obtinuit?"—De Utilit. Cred. c. 17.

Arians?" (1) About the same time Levigild, king of the Goths, in Spain, an Arian, who was converted, or nearly so, by his Catholic son St. Hermengild, reproached his Arian bishops that no miracles were wrought among them, as was the case, he said, among the Catholics. (2) The seventh century was illustrated by the miracles of our apostle St. Augustin of Canterbury, wrought in confirmation of the *doctrine* which he taught, as was recorded on his tomb: (3) and this doctrine, by the confession of learned Protestants, was purely the Roman Catholic. (4) In the eleventh century, we hear a celebrated doctor, speaking of the proofs of the Catholic religion, exclaiming thus: "O Lord! if what we believe is an error thou art the author of it, since it is confirmed amongst us by those signs and prodigies which could not be wrought but by thee." (5) In short, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, St. Xaverius, &c. all appealed to the miracles which God wrought by their hands in proof of the Catholic doctrine. I need not mention the controversial works of Bellarmin and other modern schoolmen; nevertheless, I cannot help observing, that even Luther, when the Anabaptists, adopting his own principles, had proceeded to excesses of doctrine and practice which he disapproved of, required them to prove their authority for their innovations by the performance of miracles? (6) You will naturally ask, dear sir, how Luther himself got rid of the argument, implied by this requisition, which, it is evident, bore as strongly against him as against the Anabaptists? On one occasion, he answered thus: "I have made an agreement with the Lord not to send me any visions, or dreams, or angels," &c. (7). On another occasion, he boasts of his visions as follows: "I also was in spirit," and, "if I must glory in what belongs to me, I have seen more spirits than they (the Swinkfeldians, who denied the real presence) will see in a whole year." (8)

Such has been the doctrine of the fathers and Catholic writers concerning miracles in general; as divine attestations in favour of that Church in which God is pleased to work them. I will now mention or refer to a few particular miraculous

(1) Labbe's Concil. tom. v. p. 835. (2) Greg. Turon. l. ix. c. 15.
 (3) "Hic requiescit D. Augustinus, &c. qui operatione miraculorum suffultus, Edelbertum regem ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad fidem Christi convertit."—Bede, Eccles. Hist. l. ii. c. 3. See, in particular, the account of this saint's restoring sight to a blind man in confirmation of his doctrine. Ibid. c. 2. (4) The Centuriators of Magdeburg, Sæc. 6. Bale. In Act. Rom. Pont. Humphrey's Jesuit, &c. (5) Ric. a S. Vict. de Trinit. l. i. (6) Steidan. (7) Manlius in loc. commun. See Brierley's Apology, p. 448. (8) Luth. ad Senat. Civil. Germ.

events of unquestionable evidence, which have illustrated this Church during the eighteen centuries of her existence.

No Christian questions the miracles and prophecies of the apostles; and if they do not, why should any Christian question the vision and prophecy of the apostolic saint Polycarp, the angel of the church of Smyrna, *Rev. ii. 8*, concerning the manner of his future martyrdom, namely, by fire? (1) or the testimony of his episcopal correspondent, who was likewise a disciple of the apostles, St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who testifies that the wild beasts, let loose upon the martyrs, were frequently restrained by a divine power from hurting them? In consequence of this, he prayed that it might not be the case with him. (2) St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, was the disciple of St. Polycarp, and, like him, an illustrious martyr. Shall we then call in question his testimony when he declares, as I have noticed above, that miracles, even to the revival of the dead, frequently took place in the Catholic Church, but never among heretics. (3) Or shall we disbelieve the testimonies of the learned Origen, in the next century; who says, that it was usual with the Christians of his time to drive away devils, heal the sick, and foretell things to come, adding: "God is my witness, I would not recommend the religion of Jesus by fictitious stories, but only by clear and certain facts." (4) One of Origen's scholars was St. Gregory, bishop of Neocesarea, surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, or Wonderworker, for the numerous and astonishing miracles which God wrought by his means. Many of these, even to the stopping the course of a flood, and the moving of a mountain, are recorded by the learned fathers, who soon after wrote his life. (5) St. Cyprian, the great ornament of the third century, recounts several miracles which took place in it; some of which prove the blessed eucharist to be a *sacrifice*, and the lawfulness of receiving it *under one kind*. In the middle of the fourth century happened that wonderful miracle, when the emperor Julian the apostate attempting to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, in order to disprove the prophecy of Daniel concerning it, *Dan. ix. 27*, tempests, whirlwinds, earthquakes, and fiery eruptions convulsed the scene of the undertaking, maiming or blasting the thousands of Jews and other labourers employed in the work, and, in short, rendering the completion of it utterly impossible. In the mean time a luminous

(1) Genuine Acts by Ruinart. (2) *Ep. ad Roman.* (3) *Contra Hæres. i. ii. c. 31.* (4) *Contra Celsum i. l.* (5) *Greg. Nyss. Euseb. l. vi. St. Basil, St. Jerom.*

cross, surrounded with a circle of rays, appeared in the heavens, and numerous crosses were impressed on the bodies and garments of the persons present. These prodigies are so strongly attested by almost all the authors of the age, Arians and Pagans, no less than Catholics, (1) that no one but a downright sceptic can call them in question. They have accordingly been acknowledged by the most learned Protestants. (2) Another miracle, which may vie with the above-mentioned; for the number and quality of its witnesses, took place in the following century at Typassus in Africa; where a whole congregation of Catholics being assembled to perform their devotions, contrary to the orders of the Arian tyrant Hunneric, their right hands were chopped off, and their tongues cut out to the roots by his command: nevertheless, they continued to speak as perfectly as they did before this barbarous act. (3) I pass over numberless miracles recorded by SS. Basil, Athanasius, Jerom, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustin, and the other illustrious fathers and church-historians, who adorned the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries of Christianity; and shall barely mention one miracle, which both the last-mentioned holy bishops relate, as having been themselves actual witnesses of it, that of restoring sight to a blind man, by the application to his eyes of a cloth which had touched the relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius. (4) The latter saint, one of the most enlightened men who ever handled a pen, gives an account, in a work to which I have just referred, (5) of a greater number of miracles, wrought in Africa during his episcopacy, by the relics of St. Stephen; and among the rest, of seventy wrought in his own diocese of Hippo, and some of them in his own presence, in the course of two years. Among these was the restoration of three dead bodies to life.

(1) Besides the testimony of the fathers, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and of the historians Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, &c. these events are also acknowledged by Philostorgius the Arian, Ammianus Marcellinus the Pagan, &c. (2) Bishop Warburton published a book called *Julian*, in proof of these miracles. They are also acknowledged by bishop Halifax, Disc. p. 23. (3) The vouchers for this miracle are Victor Vitensis, Hist. Persec. Vandal, l. ii.; the emperor Justinian, who declares that he had seen some of the sufferers, Codex Inst. Tit. 27; the Greek historian Procopius, who says he had conversed with them, l. i. de Bell. Vand. c. 8; Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, who having examined their mouths, protested that he was not so much surprised at their being able to talk as at their being able to live. De Immort. Anim. Victor Turon. Isid. Hispal. Greg. Magn. &c. The miracle is admitted by Abbadie, Dodwell, Mosheim, and other learned Protestants. (4) Aug. De Civit. Dei, l. xxii. p. 8. (5) Ibid. l. xxii.

From this notice of the great St. Augustin of Hippo, in the fifth century, I proceed to observe, concerning St. Augustin of Canterbury, at the end of the sixth, that the miracles wrought by him were not only recorded on his tomb, and in the history of the venerable Bede and other writers, but that an account of them was transmitted, at the time they took place, by St. Gregory to Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, in an epistle, still extant, in which this pope compares them with those performed by the apostles. (1) The latter saint wrote likewise an epistle to St. Augustin himself, which is still extant in his works, and in Bede's history, cautioning him against being elated with vainglory, on the occasion of these miracles, and reminding him that God had bestowed the power of working them, not on his own account, but for the conversion of the English nation. (2) On the supposition that our apostle had wrought no miracles, what farces must these epistles have exhibited among the first characters of the Christian world!

Among the numberless and well-attested miracles which the histories of the middle ages present to our view, I stop at those of the illustrious abbot St. Bernard, in the twelfth century, to whose sanctity the most eminent Protestant writers have borne high testimony. (3) This saint, in the life of his friend, St. Malachy of Armagh, among other miracles, mentions the cure of the withered hand of a youth, by the application of his friend's dead hand to it. (4) But this, and all the miracles which St. Bernard mentions of other saints, quite disappear when compared with those wrought by himself; which for their splendour and publicity never were exceeded. All France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy bore testimony to them; and prelates, princes, and the emperor himself were often the spectators of them. In a journey which the saint made into Germany, he was followed by Philip, archdeacon of Liege, who was sent by Sampson, archbishop of Rheims, to observe his actions. (5) This writer accordingly gives an account of a vast number of instantaneous cures which the holy abbot performed on the lame, the blind, the paralytic, and other diseased persons, with all the circumstances of them. Speaking of those wrought at Cologne, he says:

(1) Epist. S. Greg. l. vii. (2) Ibid. et Hist. Bede. l. i. c. 81.
 (3) Luther; Calvin, Bucer, Œcolompadius, Jewel, Whitaker, Mosheim, &c.
 (4) Vita Malach. inter Oper. Bern. (5) St. Bernard's Life was written by his three contemporaries, William abbot of Thierry, Arnold abbot Boneroux, and Geoffery the saint's secretary, and by other early writers. his own eloquent epistles, and other works, furnish many particulars.

They were not performed in a corner; but the whole city was witness to them. If any one doubts or is curious, he may easily satisfy himself on the spot, especially as some of them were wrought on persons of no inconsiderable rank and reputation." (1) A great number of these miracles were performed in express confirmation of the Catholic doctrine which he defended. Thus, preaching at Sarlat against the impious and impure Henricians, a species of Albigenensis, he took some loaves of bread and blessed them: after which he said: "By this you shall know that I preach to you the true doctrine, and the heretics a false doctrine: *all your sick, who shall eat of this bread, shall recover their health;*" which prediction was confirmed by the event. (2) St. Bernard himself, in the most celebrated of his works, (3) addressed to pope Eugenius III. refers to the miracles which God enabled him to work, by way of justifying himself for having preached up the second crusade: (4) and, in his letter to the people of Thoulouse, he mentions his having detected the heretics among them, not only by words, but also by miracles. (5)

The miracles of St. Francis Xavierius, the apostle of India, who was contemporary with Luther, in number, splendour, and publicity, may vie with St. Bernard's. They consisted in foretelling future events, speaking unknown languages, calming tempests at sea, curing various maladies, and raising the dead to life; and, though they took place in remote countries, yet they were verified in the same, soon after the saint's death, by virtue of a commission from John III. king of Portugal, and were generally acknowledged, not only by Europeans of different religions in the Indies, (6) but also by the native Mahometans and Pagans. (7) At the same time with this saint lived the holy contemplative St. Philip Neri, in proof of whose miracles 300 witnesses, some of them persons of high rank, were juridically examined. (8) The following century was illustrated by the attested miracles of St. Francis of Sales, (9) even to the resurrection of the dead; as it was also by those of St. John Francis Regis; concerning which twenty-two bishops of Languedoc wrote thus to pope Clement XI.: "We are witnesses that, before the tomb of F. J. F. Regis, the blind see, the lame walk, the deaf hear, the dumb speak." (10)

(1) Published by Mabillon. (2) Geoff. in Vit. Bern. (3) De Consideratione. (4) Ibid. l. ii. (5) Ad Tolos. Ep. 241. (6) See the testimonies of Hackluyt, Baldeus, and Taviernier, all Protestants, in Bouhour's Life of St. Xavierius, translated by the poet Dryden. (7) Ibid. (8) See Butler's Saints' Lives, May 26. (9) See Marsollier's Life of St. F. de Sales, translated by Dr. Coombes. (10) See his Life by Daubenton, which is abridged by Butler, June 18.

You will understand, dear sir, that I mention but a few of the saints, and with respect to these but a few of their miracles, as my object is to prove the single fact, that God has illustrated the Catholic Church with undeniable miracles, chiefly by means of his saints, in the different ages of her existence. What now will you, dear sir, and your friends say to the evidence here adduced? Will you say that all the holy fathers, up to the apostolic age, and that all the ecclesiastical writers down to the Reformation, and, since this period, that all Catholic authors, prelates, and officials, have been in a league to deceive mankind? In short, that they are all liars and impostors alike? Such, in fact, is the absurd and horrible system, which, to get rid of the DIVINE ATTESTATION in favour of the Catholic Church, the celebrated Dr. Conyers Middleton has declared for; as have most Protestant writers who have handled the subject, since the publication of his *Free Inquiry*. This system, however, which is a *libel on human nature*, does not only lead to general scepticism in other respects, but also undermines the credit of the gospel itself. For if all the ancient fathers and other writers are to be disbelieved, respecting the miracles of their times, and even those which they themselves witnessed, upon what grounds are we to believe them, in their report of the miracles which they had heard of Christ and his apostles, those main props of the gospel and our common Christianity? Who knows but they may have forged all the contents of the former and the whole history of the latter? It was impossible these consequences should escape the penetration of Middleton: but, in his opinion, a worse consequence, namely, a *divine attestation of the sanctity of the Catholic Church*, which would inevitably follow from admitting the veracity of the holy fathers, banished his dread of the former. Let him now speak to this point for himself, in his own flowing periods. He begins with establishing an important fact, which I also have been labouring to prove, where he says: "It must be confessed, that the claim to a miraculous power was universally asserted and believed in all Christian countries and in all ages of the Church, till the time of the Reformation for ecclesiastical history makes no difference between one age and another, but carries on the succession of its miracles, as of all other common events, through all of them indifferently to that memorable period." (1) "As far as church-historians can illustrate any thing, there is not a single point, in all his-

(1) *Free Inquiry*, Introduct. Disc. p. xiv.

tor, so constantly, explicitly, and unanimously affirmed by them, as the continual succession of those powers, through all ages, from the earliest father, who first mentions them, down to the Reformation; which same succession is still further deduced by persons of the same eminent character for probity, learning, and dignity, in the Romish Church, to this very day; so that the only doubt which can remain with us is, whether church-historians are to be trusted or not: for if any credit be due to them in the present case, it must reach to all or none: because the reason for believing them in any one case will be found to be of equal force in all, as far as it depends on the character of the persons attesting, or the thing attested." (1) We shall now hear Dr. Middleton's decision on this weighty matter, and upon what grounds it is formed. He says: "The prevailing opinion of Protestants, namely, of Tillotson, Marshall, Dodwell, &c. is, that miracles continued during the three first centuries. Dr. Waterland brings them down to the fourth. Dr. Beriman to the fifth. These unwarily betrayed the Protestant cause into the hands of its enemies: for it was in those primitive ages, particularly in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th, those flourishing times of miracles, in which the chief corruptions of Popery, monkery, the worship of relics, invocation of saints, prayers for the dead, the superstitious use of images and of sacraments were introduced." (2) "We shall find, after the conversion of the Roman empire, the greater part of their boasted miracles were wrought either by monks, or relics, or the sign of the cross, &c. wherefore, if we admit the miracles, we must admit the rites for the sake of which they were wrought: they both rest on the same bottom." (3) "Every one may see *what a resemblance the principles and practice of the fourth century, as they are described by the most eminent fathers of that age, bear to the present rites of the Popish church.*" (4) "When we reflect on the surprising confidence with which the fathers of the fourth age affirmed, as true, what they themselves had forged, or knew to be forged, it is natural to suspect that so bold a defiance of truth could not be acquired or become general at once, but must have been gradually carried to that height by the example of former ages." (5) Such are the grounds on which this shameless declaimer accuses all the most holy and learned men, whom the world has produced during 1800 years, of forgery and a combination to cheat mankind. He does not

(1) Free Inquiry, preface, p. 15.

(2) Introd. p. li.

(3) Ibid.

lxvi.

(4) Ibid. p. lxx.

(5) Ibid. lxxxv.

say a word to shew that the combination itself is either probable or possible; all he advances is, that this libel on human nature is *necessary for the support of Protestantism*; for he says, and this with evident truth, "By granting the Romanists but a single age of miracles after the time of the apostles, we shall be entangled in a series of difficulties, whence we can never fairly extricate ourselves, till we allow the same powers also to the present age." (1)

Methodists I hear some of your society thus asking me: *Do you then pretend that your Church possesses the miraculous powers at the present day?* I answer, that the Church never possessed miraculous powers, in the sense of most Protestant writers, so as to be able to effect cures or other supernatural events at her mere pleasure: for even the apostles could not do this, as we learn from the history of the lunatic child, *Matt. xvii. 16*. But this I say, that the Catholic Church, being always the beloved *Spouse of Christ*, Rev. xxi. 9, and continuing at all times to bring forth children of heroic sanctity, God fails not in this any more than in past ages, to illustrate her and them by unquestionable miracles. Accordingly, in those processes which are constantly going on at the apostolical see for the canonization of new saints, (2) fresh miracles of a recent date continue to be proved with the highest degree of evidence, as I can testify from having perused, on the spot, the official printed account of some of them. (3) For the further satisfaction of your friends, I will inform them that I have had satisfactory proof, that the astonishing catastrophe of Louis XVI. and his queen, in being *beheaded on a scaffold*, was foretold by a nun of Fougères, sœur Nativité, 20 years before it happened; and that the banishment of the French clergy from their country, long before it happened, was predicted by the holy French pilgrim, Benedict Labre, whose miracles caused the conversion of the late Rev. Mr. Thayer, an American clergyman, who being at Rome witnessed several of them. With respect to miraculous cures of a late date, I have the most respectable attestation of several of them, and I am well acquainted with four or five persons who have experienced them. The following facts are respectively attested,

(1) *Introd. p. xcvi.* (2) Among the late canonizations are those, in 1807 and 1808, St. F. Caraccilio, founder of the Regular Clerks; of St. Angela de Mercis, foundress of the Ursuline Nuns, of St. Mary of the Incarnation, Mlle. Acarie, &c. One of the latest beatifications is that of B. Alfonso Liguori, bishop of St. Agata de Goti. (3) One of these proved in the process of the last mentioned saint, consisted in the cure and *restoration of an amputated breast* of a woman, who was at the point of death from a cancer.

but at much greater length, by the Rev. Thomas Sadler, of Trafford, near Manchester, and the Rev. J. Crathorne, of Garswood, near Wigan:—Joseph Lamb, of Eccles, near Manchester, now 28 years old, on the 12th of August, 1814, fell from a hay-rick, four yards and a half high, by which accident it was conceived the spine of his back was broken. Certain it is, that he could neither walk nor stand without crutches, down to the 2d of October, and that he described himself as feeling the most exquisite pain in his back. On that day, having prevailed with much difficulty upon his father, who was then a Protestant, to take him in a cart with his wife and two friends, Thomas Cutler and Eliz. Dooley, to Garswood, where the hand of Father Arrowsmith, one of the Catholic priests who suffered death at Lancaster, for the exercise of his religion, in the reign of Charles I. is preserved, and has often caused wonderful cures, he got himself conveyed to the altar rails of the chapel, and there to be signed, on his back, with the sign of the cross by that hand; when feeling *a particular sensation and total change in himself*, as he expressed it, he exclaimed to his wife: *Mary, I can walk!* This he did, without any help whatever, walking first into an adjoining room, and thence to the cart which conveyed him home. With his debility, his pains also left him, and his back has continued well ever since. (1) These particulars the above named persons, all declare upon oath. I have attestations of incurable cancers and other disorders being suddenly remedied by the same instrument of God's bounty; but it would be a tedious work to transcribe them, or the other attestations in my possession of a similar nature.

Among those of my personal acquaintance who have experienced supernatural cures, I will mention Mary Wood, living at Taunton Lodge, where several other witnesses of the facts I am going to state live with her. "On March 15, 1809, Mary Wood, in attempting to open a sash window, pushed her left hand through a pane of glass, which caused a very large and deep transverse wound in the inside of the left arm, and divided the muscles and nearly the whole of the tendons that lead to the hand; from which accident, she not only suffered, at times, the most acute pain, but was from the period I first saw her (March 15) till some time in July, totally deprived of the use of her hand and arm." (2) What

(1) The Rev. Mr. Sadler's letter to me is dated Aug. 6, 1817. (2) This account is copied from a letter to Miss F. T. Bird, dated Sept. 30, 1809, by Mr. Woodford, an eminent surgeon of Taunton, who attended Mary Wood.

passed between the latter end of July, when, as the surgeon elsewhere says, "he left his patient," having no hopes of restoring her, till the 6th of August, on the night of which she was perfectly and miraculously cured, I shall copy from a letter to me, dated November 19, 1809, by her amanuensis, Miss Maria Hornyold. "The surgeon gave little or no hopes of her ever again having the use of her hand, which, together with the arm, seemed withered and somewhat contracted; only saying, *in some years* nature might give her some little use of it, which was considered by her superiors as a mere de-^lusive comfort. Despairing of farther human assistance towards her cure, she determined, with the approbation of her said superiors, to have recourse to God, through the intercession of St. Winefride, by a Novena. (1) Accordingly on the 6th of August she put a piece of moss from the saint's well on her arm, continuing recollected and praying, &c. when, to her great surprise, the next morning she found she could dress herself, put her arm behind her and to her head, having regained the free use and full strength of it. In short, she was perfectly cured!" In this state I myself saw her a few years afterwards, when I examined her hand: and in the same state she still continues, at the above named place, with many other highly credible vouchers, who are ready respectively to attest these particulars. "On the 16th of the month, the surgeon was sent for; and, being asked his opinion concerning Mary Wood's arm, he gave *no hope of a perfect cure*, and very little, of her ever having *even the least use of it*; when, she being introduced to him and shewing him the arm, which he thoroughly examined and tried, he was so affected at the sight and the recital of the manner of the cure, as to shed tears, and exclaim, it was a special interposition of divine Providence."

I shall say little of the miraculous cure of Winefride White, a young woman of Wolverhampton, on the 23th of June, 1805, at Holywell, having published a detailed account of it, soon after it happened, which has been republished in England and in Ireland. Let it suffice to say: 1st, that the disease was one of the most alarming topical ones which are known, namely, a *curvature of the spine*, as her physician and surgeon ascertained, who treated it accordingly, by making two great issues, one on each side of the spine, of which the patient's back still bears the marks; 2dly, that besides the most

(1) Certain prayers continued during nine days..

acute pains, throughout the whole nervous system, and particularly in the brain, this disease of the spine produced a *hemiplegia* or palsy on one side of the patient, so that when she could feebly crawl, with the help of a crutch under her right arm, she was forced to drag her left leg and arm after her, just as if they made no part of her; 3dly, that her disorder was of long continuance, namely, of three years standing, though not in the same degree, till the latter part of that time; and that it was publicly known to all her neighbours and a great many others; 4thly, that having performed the acts of devotion which she felt herself called to undertake, and having bathed in the fountain, she, *in one instant* of time, on the 28th of June, 1805, found herself freed from all her pains and disabilities, so as to be able to walk, run and jump, like any other young woman, and to carry a greater weight with the left arm than she could with the right; that she has continued in this state these thirteen years down to the present time; and that all the above-mentioned circumstances have been ascertained by me in the regular examination of the several witnesses of them, in the places of their residence, namely, in Staffordshire, Lancashire, and Wales; they being persons of different countries, no less than of different religions and situations in life. The authentic documents of which examination, as well as of the whole proceedings, are contained in the work referred to above. Several of the witnesses are still living, as is Winefride White herself. (1)

I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER XXVII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I SUBSCRIBE to the objection, which you say has been suggested to you by your learned friend, on the subject of miracles. Namely, I admit that a vast number of incredible and false miracles, as well as other fables, have been forged by some, and believed by other Catholics, in every age of the Church, including that of the apostles. (2) I agree

(1) Winefride White departed this life on the 12th of January, 1824, being the nineteenth since the cure of her paralysis. She died of a pulmonary complaint. (2) St. Jerom, in rejecting certain current fables concerning St. Paul and St. Thecla, mentions a priest who was deposed by St.

with him and you in rejecting the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Speculum* of Vincentius Belluacensis, the *Saints' Lives* of the Patrician Metaphrastes, and scores of similar legends, stuffed as they are with relations of miracles of every description. But, sir, are we to deny the truth of all history, because there are numberless false histories? Are we to question the four evangelists because there have been several fabricated gospels? Most certainly not: but we must make the best use we can of the discernment and judgment which God has given us, to distinguish false accounts of every kind from those which are true; and we ought, I allow, to make use of double diligence and caution, in examining alleged revelations and events contrary to the general laws of nature.

Your friend's second objection, which impeaches the diligence, integrity, and discernment of the cardinals, prelates, and other ecclesiastics at Rome, appointed to examine into the proofs of the miracles there published, shews that he is little acquainted with the subject he talks of. In the first place, then, a juridical examination of each reported miracle must be made in the place where it is said to have happened, and the depositions of the several witnesses must be given upon oath; this examination is generally repeated two or three times at intervals. In the next place, the examiners at Rome are unquestionably men of character, talents and learning, who, nevertheless, are not permitted to pronounce upon any cure or other effect in nature, till they have received a regular report of physicians and naturalists upon it. So far from being precipitate, it employs them whole years to come to a decision on a few cases respecting each saint; this is printed and handed about among indifferent persons, previously to its being laid before the pope. In short, so strict is the examination, that, according to an Italian proverb, *It is next to a miracle to get a miracle proved at Rome*. It is reported by F. Daubenton, that an English Protestant gentleman, meeting in that city with a printed process of forty miracles, which had been laid before the congregation of rites, to which the examination of them belonged, was so well satisfied with the respective proofs of them, as to express a wish that Rome would never allow of any miracles, but such as were as strongly proved as these appeared to be; when, to his great

John the evangelist, for inventing similar stories. De Script Apost.— Pope Gelasius, in the fifth century, condemned several apocryphal gospels and epistles, and legends of saints, and among the latter the common ones of St. George.

surprise, he was informed that every one of these had been rejected by Rome as not sufficiently proved!

Nor can I admit of the third objection of your friend, by which he rejects our miracles, on the alleged ground, that there was no sufficient cause for the performance of them; for not to mention that many of them were performed for the conversion of infidels, I am bound to cry out with the apostle: *Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor!* Rom. xi. 34. Thus much is certain from scripture, that the same Deity who preserved Jonas in the whale's belly, to preach repentance to the Ninivites, created a gourd to shelter his head from the heat of the sun. *Jonas*, iv. 6; and that as he sent fire from heaven to save his prophet Elias, so he caused iron to swim, in order to enable the son of a prophet to restore the axe which he had borrowed, *2 Kings*, vi. 6. In like manner, we are not to reject miracles, sufficiently proved, under pretext that they are mean, and unworthy the hand of Omnipotence; for we are assured, that God equally turned the dust of Egypt into lice, as he turned the waters of it into blood. *Exod.* viii.

Having lately perused the works of several of the most celebrated Protestant writers, who, in defending the scripture miracles, endeavour to invalidate the credit of those they are pleased to call *Popish miracles*, I think it just, both to your cause and my own, to state the chief arguments they make use of, and the answers which occur to me in refutation of them. On this head I cannot help expressing my surprise and concern, that writers of character, and some of them of high dignity, should have published several *gross falsehoods*: not, I trust, intentionally, but from the blind precipitancy and infatuation which a panic fear of Popery generally produces. The late learned bishop of Salisbury, Dr. J. Douglas, has borrowed from the infidel Gibbon what he calls "A most satisfying proof that the miracles ascribed to the Romish saints are *forgeries* of an age posterior to that they lay claim to." (1) The latter says: "It may seem remarkable, that Bernard of Clairvaux, who records so many miracles of his friend St. Malachy, *never takes notice* of his own, which, in their turn, however, are carefully related by his companions and disciples. In the long series of ecclesiastical history, does there occur an instance of a saint asserting that he himself pos-

(1) The Criterion, or Rules by which the true Miracles of the New Testament are distinguished from the spurious Miracles of Pagans and Papists, by John Douglas, D. D. Lord Bishop of Salisbury, p. 71, note.

sessed the gift of miracles?" (1) Adopting this objection, the bishop of Salisbury says: "I think I may safely challenge the admirers of the Romish saints to produce any writing of any of them, in which a power of miracles is claimed." (2) Elsewhere he says: "From Xaverius himself (namely, from his published letters) we are furnished, not only with a negative evidence against his having any miraculous power, but also with a positive fact, which is the strongest possible presumption against it." (3) Nevertheless, in spite of the confident assertions of these celebrated authors, it is certain (though the last things which true saints choose to speak of are their own supernatural favours) that several of them, when the occasion required it, have spoken of the miracles of which they were the instruments: (4) and among the rest, those two identical saints, St. Bernard and St. Francis Xavierius, whom Gibbon and Dr. Douglas instance to prove their assertion. I have already referred to the passages in the works of St. Bernard, where he speaks of his miracles as of notorious facts; and I here again insert them in a note. (5) With respect to St. Xavierius, he not only mentions, in those very letters which Dr. Douglas appeals to, a miraculous cure which he wrought upon a dying woman in the kingdom of Travancor, but he expressly calls it a MIRACLE, and affirms that it caused the conversion of the whole village in which she resided. (6)

A second palpable falsehood is thus confidently advanced by the capital enemy of miracles, Dr. Middleton: "I might risk the merit of my argument on this single point, that, after the apostolic times, there is not, in all history, one instance, either well attested, or *even so much as mentioned*, of any particular person who had ever exercised that gift (of tongues) or pretended to exercise it, in any age or country whatsoever." (7) In case your learned friend is disposed to take

(1) Hist. of Decline and Fall, chap. xv. (2) Criterion, p. 369.
 (3) Ibid. p. 76. (4) The great St. Martin acknowledged his own miracles, since, according to his friend and biographer, Sulpicius, Dialogue 2, he used to say, that he was not endowed with so great a power of working them, after he was a bishop, as he had been before. (5) Addressing himself to P. Eugenius III. in answer to his enemies, who reproached him with the ill success of the second crusade, he says: "*Sed dicunt forsitan isti: Unde scimus quod a Domino sermo egressus sit? Quæ signa tu facis ut credamus tibi? Non est quod ad ista ipse respondeam: parcendum verecundiæ meæ: responde tu pro me et pro te ipso, secundum ea quæ vidisti et audisti.*" De Consid. l. ii. c. 1. In like manner, writing to the people of Thoulouse of his miracles wrought there, he says: "*Mora quidem brevis apud vos sed non infructuosa: Veritate nimirum per nos manifestata, non solum in sermone sed etiam in virtute.*" Ep. 241.
 (6) Epist. S. F. Xav. L. i. Ep. iv. (7) Inquiry into Mirac. Powers, p. 120, &c.

up the cause of Middleton, I beg to refer him to the history of St. Paconius, the Egyptian abbot, and founder of the Cenobites; who, "though he never learned the Greek or Latin languages, yet sometimes miraculously spoke them," as his disciple and biographer reports: (1) and to that of the renowned preacher, St. Vincent Ferrer, who, having the gift of tongues, preached indifferently to Jews, Moors, and Christians, in their respective languages, and converted incredible numbers of each of these descriptions. (2) In like manner, the bull of the canonization of St. Lewis Bertrand, A. D. 1671, declares that he possessed the 'gift of tongues, by means of which he converted as many as 10,000 Indians, of different tribes in South America in the space of three years. (3) Lastly, let your friend peruse the history of the great apostle of the East Indies, St. Xaverius, who, though he ordinarily studied the languages of the several nations to whom he announced the word of God, yet, on particular occasions, he was empowered to speak those which he had not learned. (4) This was the case in Travancor, as his companion Vaz testifies, so as to be enabled to convert and instruct 10,000 infidels, all of whom he baptized with his own hand. This was the case again at Amanguchi, where he met with a number of Chinese merchants. Finally, the bull of St. Xaverius's canonization by Urban VIII. proclaims to the world, that this saint was illustrated with the *gift of tongues*. So false is the bold assertion of Middleton, adopted in part by bishop Douglas and other Protestants, that "there is not, in all history, one instance, either well attested, or so much as mentioned, of any person who had ever exercised the gift of tongues, or pretended to exercise it."

Nor is there more truth in what the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Paley, &c. maintain, namely, that "the Popish miracles," as they insultingly call them, "were not wrought to confirm any truth, and that no converts were made by them." (5) In refutation of this, I may again refer to the epitaph of our apostle, St. Augustin, and to the miracles of St. Bernard at Sarlat, mentioned above. To these instances, I may add the prodigy of St. Dominic, who, to prove the truth of the Catholic doctrine, threw a book containing it into the flames, in which it remained unconsumed; at the same time challenging

(1) Tillemont, Mem. Ecc. tom. vii. (2) See his Life by Lanzano, bishop of Lucca, also Spondanus ad An. 1403. (3) See Alban Butler's Saints Lives, Oct. 9. (4) See Bouhour's Life of St. Xaverius, translated by Dryden, &c. (5) Criterion, p. 369. View of Evidences, by Dr. Paley, vol. i. p. 346.

the heretics, whom he was addressing, to make the same experiment on their creed. (1) In like manner, St. Xavierius on a certain occasion, finding his words to have no effect on his Indian auditory, requested them to open the grave of a corpse that had been buried the day before, when, falling on his knees, he besought God to restore it to life for the conversion of the infidels present; upon which, the dead man was instantly restored to life and perfect health, and the country round about received the faith. (2)

It is chiefly through the sides of the apostle of India, that the author of *The Criterion* endeavours to wound the credit of the other saints and the Catholic Church on the point of miracles. Hence, in the application of his three laboured rules of criticism, he objects, that the alleged miracles of St. Xavierius were performed in the extremities of the East;—that the accounts of them were published, not on the spot, but in Europe, at an immense distance;—and this not till thirty-five years after the saint's death. (3) A single document, of the most public nature, at once overturns all the three rules in regard to this saint. He died at the end of 1552, and on the 28th of March, 1556, a letter was sent from Lisbon by John III. king of Portugal, to his viceroy in India Don Francisco Barretto, "enjoining him to take depositions upon oath, in all parts of the Indies, where there is a probability of finding witnesses, not only concerning the life and manners of Francis Xavierius, and of all the things commendably done by him, for the salvation and example of men, but also concerning the *miracles* which he has wrought, both living and dead. You shall send these authentic instruments, with all the evidences and proofs, signed with your handwriting, and sealed with your ring, by three different conveyances." (4)

But the author of *The Criterion*, it seems, has more positive, and what he calls "conclusive" evidence, that during this time, (thirty-five years after his death) Xavierius's mira-

(1) Petrus Vallis Cern. Hist. Alb. Butler's Saints' Lives, Aug. 4.

(2) This was one of the miracles referred to by the Paravas of Cape Comorin, when the Dutch sent a minister from Batavia, to proselyte them to Protestantism. On this occasion, they answered this minister's discourse thus: *The great father (St. Xavierius) raised to life five or six dead persons; do you raise twice as many; do you cure all our sick, and make the sea twice as productive of fish as it now is, and then we will listen to you.* Du Halde's Recueil, vol. v. Bernult Bercastel's Hist. Ecc. tom. xxiii. p. 454.

(3) Criter. pp. 78, 81, &c. (4) This letter is extant in Tursellinus, but had been published several years before by Emanuel Acosta, in his *Rerum in Oriente Gestarum*. Dilingen, 1571. Paris, 1572.

cles had not been heard of. The evidence," he says, "I shall allege, is that of Acosta (namely, Joseph Acosta), who himself had been a missionary among the Indians. His work, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, was printed in 1599, that is, about thirty-seven years after the death of Xaverius, and in it we find an express acknowledgment, that no miracles had ever been performed by missionaries among the Indians. Acosta was himself a Jesuit, and therefore, from his silence we may infer unexceptionably, that between thirty and forty years had elapsed before Xaverius's miracles were thought of." (1) The argument has been thought so conclusive, that Mr. Le Mesurier, (2) Hugh Farnier, (3) the Rev. Peter Roberts, (4) and other Protestant writers on miracles, have adopted it with exultation, and it has probably contributed as much to the author's title of *Detector Douglas*, as his exposure of the two impostors, Lauder and Archibald Bower. But what will the admirers of this *Detector* say, if it should appear that Acosta barely says, that "there was not *the same faculty or facility* of working miracles among the missionaries which there was among the apostles?" (5) Or rather, what will they say, if this same Acosta, in the very work which Dr. Douglas quotes, expressly asserts, that *signs and miracles* too numerous to be related, accompanied the preaching of the gospel both in the East and the West Indies *in his own time!* (6) And when, with respect to this illustrious personage, he further adds: "Blessed father Francis," as he calls him, "being a man of an apostolical life, so many and such great signs have been reported of him, by numerous and credible witnesses, that hardly more in number or greater in magnitude are read of any one, except the apostles?" (7) Now all this I affirm Acosta does say, in the very work quoted by bishop Douglas, a copy of which, I beg leave to inform your learned friend (and through him, other learned

(1) Criterion, p. 73. (2) Bampton Lectures, p. 288. (3) Dissertation on Miracles, p. 205. (4) Observations on a pamphlet. (5) "Altera causa in nobis est cur Apostolica predicatio institui omnino non possit apostolice, quod miraculorum nulla *facultas* sit, quam apostoli plurima perpetrarunt." Acosta, De Proc. l. i. c. 8. (6) "Et quidem dona spiritus *signa et miracula*, quæ fidei prædicatione innotuerunt, *his etiam temporibus*, quando charitas usque adeo refrixit, enumerare longum esset, tum in Orientali illa India, tum in hac Occidentali." De Procur. l. i. c. iv. p. 141. (7) "Convertamus oculos in nostri sæculi hominem, B. Magistrum Franciscum, virum Apostolicæ vitæ, cujus tot et tam magna signa referuntur per plurimos, eosque idoneos testes, ut vix de alio, exceptis apostolis, plura legantur. Quid Magister Gaspar aliique socii, &c." De Procur. Ind. Salut. l. 2. c. x. p. 226.

nien), is to be found in the Bodleian library at Oxford, under the title which I insert below. (1) The author of *The Criterion* is hardly entitled to more mercy, for his cavils on what Ribadeneira says of the miracles of St. Ignatius, than for those on what Acosta says of the miracles of St. Xaverius. The fact is, the council of Trent, having recently prohibited the publication of any new miracles, until they had been examined and approved of by the proper ecclesiastical authority, Ribadeneira, in the first edition of his life of St. Ignatius, observed due caution in speaking of this saint's miracles. However, in that very edition, he declared that many such had been wrought by him; which having been afterwards juridically proved, in the process of the saint's canonization, his biographer published them without scruple, as he candidly and satisfactorily informs his readers in that third edition; which edition now stands in his folio work of *The Saints' Lives*. (2)

I shall close this extended letter with a very few words respecting a work which has lately appeared, animadverting on my account of *The Miraculous Cure of Winefride White*. (1) The writer sets out with the system of Dr. Middleton, by admitting none but scripture-miracles; but very soon he undermines these miracles also, where he says: "An independent and express divine testimony is that alone

(1) The work of Joseph Acosta, *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, is to be inquired for at the Bodleian library by the following quaint title: *Joanna Papiessa toti Orbi manifestata*, 8vo. c. 29, Art. Selden; because, for some reason or other, it is bound up with that fanatical treatise. (2) "Mihi tantum abest ut ad vitam Ignatii illustrandam miracula decesse videantur, ut multa eaque præstantissima judicem in media luce versari." The writer proceeds to mention several cures, &c. edit. 1572. I cannot close this article without protesting against the disingenuity of several Protestant writers, in reproaching Catholics with the impositions practised by the Jansenist heretics at the tomb of Abbe Paris. In fact, who detected those impositions, and furnished Dr. Campbell, Dr. Douglas, &c. with arguments against them, except our Catholic prelates and theologians? In like manner, Catholics have reason to complain of these and other Protestant writers, for the manner in which they discuss the stupendous miracle that took place at Saragossa, in 1610, on one Michael Pellicer, whose leg, having been amputated, he, by his prayers, obtained a new natural leg; just as if this miracle rested on no better foundation than the slight mention which cardinal Retz makes of it in his *Memoirs*. In fact, we might have expected that learned divines would have known that this miracle had been amply discussed, soon after it happened, between Dr. Stillingfleet and the Jesuit Edward Worsley; in which discussion, the latter produced such attestations of the fact as it seems impossible not to credit. See *Reason and Religion*, p. 328. (3) By the Rev. Peter Roberts, rector of Llanammon, &c.

which can assure us whether effects are miraculous or not except in few cases." He thus reverses the proofs of Christianity, as its advocates and its divine Founder himself have laid them down. He adds: "No mortal ought to have the presumption to say, a thing is or is not contrary to the established laws of nature." Again, he says: "To prove a miracle there must be a proof of the particular divine agency." According to this system we may say: No one knows but the motion of the funeral procession, or some occult quality of nature, raised to life the widow of Naim's son! Mr. Roberts will have no difficulty in saying so, as he denies that the resurrection of the murdered man from the touch of the prophet Elisha's bones, 2 *Kings*, xiii. was a miracle! Possessed of this opinion, the author can readily persuade himself, that a curved spine and hemiplegia, or any other disease whatever, may be cured, in an instant, by immersion in cold water, or by any thing else; but as it is not likely that any one else will adopt it, I will say no more of his physical arguments on this subject. He next proceeds to charge W. White and her friends with a studied imposition; in support of which charge, he asserts, that "the church of Rome had not announced a miracle for many years." This only proves, that his ignorance of what is continually going on in the Church, is equal to his bigotry against it. The same ignorance and bigotry is manifested in the ridiculous story concerning Sixtus V. which he copies from the unprincipled Leti, as also in his account of the exploded and condemned book, the *Taxæ Cancillariæ*, &c. (1) Towards the conclusion of his work, he expresses a doubt whether I have read bishop Douglas's Criterion, though I have so frequently quoted it; because, he says, if I had read it, I must have known that Acosta proves that St. Xavierius wrought no miracles among the Indians, and that the same thing appears from the saint's own letters. Now the only thing, dear sir, which these assertions prove is, that Mr. Roberts himself, no more than bishop Douglas, ever read either Acosta's work, or St. Xavierius's letters, notwithstanding they so frequently refer to them, for this is the only way of acquitting them of a far heavier charge.

I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNAR.

(1) Eu•eb Eccles. Hist. l. iv. c. 15.

ON THE TRUE CHURCH BEING CATHOLIC.

LETTER XXVIII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—In treating of this third mark of the true Church, as expressed in our common creed, I feel my spirits sink within me, and I am almost tempted to throw away my pen in despair. For what chance is there of opening the eyes of candid Protestants to the other marks of the Church, if they are capable of keeping them shut to this? Every time that each of them addresses the God of Truth, either in solemn worship or in private devotion, he fails not to repeat: *I believe in THE CATHOLIC Church*: and yet if I ask him the question: *Are you a CATHOLIC?* he is sure to answer me: *No, I am a PROTESTANT!* Was there ever a more glaring instance of inconsistency and self-condemnation among rational beings!

At the first promulgation of the gospel, its followers were distinguished from the Jews by the name of *Christians*, as we learn from scripture, *Acts*, xi. 26. Hence the title of Catholic did not occur in the primitive edition of the apostles' creed; (1) but no sooner did heresies and schisms arise, to disturb the peace of the Church, than there was found to be a necessity of discriminating the main stock of her faithful children, to whom the promises of Christ belonged, from those self-willed *choosers* of their articles of belief, as the word *heretic* signifies, and those disobedient *separatists*, as the word *schismatic* means. For this purpose the title of CATHOLIC, or *Universal*, was adopted and applied to the true Church and her children. Accordingly, we find it used by the immediate disciples of the apostles, as a distinguishing *mark of the true Church*. One of these was the illustrious martyr St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who, writing to the church of Smyrna, expressly says, that "Christ is where the Catholic Church is." In like manner, the same church of Smyrna, giving a relation of the martyrdom of their holy bishop St. Polycarp, who was equally a disciple of the apostles, addresses it to "the *Catholic churches*." (2) This characteristic title of the true Church continued to be pointed out by the succeeding fathers in their writings and the acts of their

(1) See four collated copies of it in Dupin's Bib. Eccl. tom. i.

(2) Euseb. Ecc. Hist. l. iv. c. 15.

councils. (1) St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, in the fourth century, gives the following directions to his pupils: "If you go into any city, do not ask merely, *where is the church or house of God?* because the heretics pretend to have this: but ask, *which is the Catholic church?* because this title belongs alone to our holy mother." (2) "We," says a father of the fifth century, "are called *Catholic Christians*." (3) His contemporary, St. Pacian, describes himself as follows: "*Christian* is my name, *Catholic* is my surname: by the former I am called, by the latter I am distinguished. By the name of *Catholic* our society is distinguished from all *heretics*." (4) But there is not one of the fathers or doctors of antiquity, who enlarges so copiously or so pointedly on this title of the true Church, as the great St. Augustin, who died in the early part of the fifth century. "Many things," he says, "detain me in the bosom of the Catholic Church—the very name of CATHOLIC detains me in it, which she has so happily preserved amidst the different heretics: that whereas they are all desirous of being called *Catholics*, yet, if any stranger were to ask them, *which is the assembly of the Catholics?* none of them would dare to point out his own place of worship." (5) To the same purpose, he says elsewhere: "We must hold fast the communion of that Church which is called *Catholic*, not only by her own children, but also by her enemies. For heretics and schismatics, whether they will or not, when they are speaking of the Catholic Church with strangers, or with their own people, call her by the name of *Catholic*: inasmuch as they would not be understood, if they did not call her by the name by which all the world calls her." (6) In proportion to their affection for the glorious name of *Catholic*, is the aversion of these primitive doctors to every ecclesiastical name or title derived from particular persons, countries, or opinions. "What new heresy," says St. Vincent of Lerins, in the sixth century, "ever sprouted up, without bearing the name of its founder, the date of its origin," &c. (7) St. Justin, the philosopher and martyr, had previously made the same remark in the second century, with respect to the Marcionite, Valentinian, and other heretics of his time. (8) Finally, the nervous St. Jerom lays down the following rule on the subject: "We must live and die in

(1) SS. Justin, Clem. Alex. Appolin. 1 Nicæan. can. 8, 1 Constan. can. 7, &c. (2) Catech. 18. (3) Salvian de Gubern. Dei, l. iv. (4) St. Pacian, Ep. i. ad Symp. (5) Contra, Epist. Fundam. c. 1. (6) De Ver. Relig. c. 7. (7) Common. Advers. Hæc. c. 34. (8) Advers. Tryphon.

that Church, which, having been founded by the apostles, continues down to the present day. If, then, you should hear of any Christians not deriving their name from Christ, but from some other founder, as the Marcionites, the Valentinians, &c. be persuaded that they are not of Christ's society, but of antichrist's." (1)

I now appeal to you, dear sir, and to the respectable friends who are accustomed to deliberate with you on religious subjects, whether these observations and arguments of the ancient fathers are not as strikingly true in this 19th century, as they were during the six first centuries in which they wrote? Is there not, among the rival churches, one exclusively known and distinguished by the name and title of **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH**, as well in England, Holland, and other countries. which *protest* against this Church, as in those which adhere to it? Does not this effulgent mark of the true religion so incontestably belong to us, in spite of every effort to obscure it, by the nick-names of *Papists*, *Romanists*, &c. (2) that the rule of St. Cyril and St. Augustin is as good and certain now, as it was in their times? What I mean is this: if any stranger in London, Edinburgh, or Amsterdam, were to ask his way to the *Catholic chapel*, I would risk my life for it, that no sober Protestant inhabitant would direct him to any other place of worship than to ours. On the other hand, it is notorious, that the different sects of Protestants, like the heretics and schismatics of old, are denominated either from their founders, as the *Lutherans*, the *Calvinists*, the *Socinians*, &c. or from the countries in which they prevail, as the *church of England*, the *kirk of Scotland*, the *Moravians*, &c. or some from novelty in their belief or practice, as the *Anabaptists*, the *Independents*, the *Quakers*, &c. The first father of Protestants was so sensible that he and they were destitute of every claim to the title of *Catholic*, that in translating the apostles' creed into Dutch, he substituted the word *Christian* for that of *Catholic*. The first Lutherans did the same thing in their catechism, for which they are reproached by the famous Fulke, who, to his own confusion, proves that the true Church of Christ must be *Catholic in name*, as well as in *substance*. (3)

I am, dear sir, &c. JOHN MILNER.

(1) *Advers Luciferan.* (2) St. Gregory of Tours, speaking of the Arians, and other contemporary heretics of the sixth century, says: "Romanorum nomine vacant nostræ religionis nomines." *Hist.* l. xvii. c. 25.
(3) On the New Testament, p. 378.

ON THE QUALITIES OF CATHOLICITY.

LETTER XXIX.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—To proceed now from the name *Catholic* to the signification of that name: this is to be gathered from the etymology of the word itself, and from the sense in which the apostolical fathers and other doctors of the Church have constantly used it. It is derived from the Greek word καθολικός, which means *Universal*; and, accordingly, it has ever been employed by those writers to discriminate the great body of Christians, under their legitimate pastors, and subsisting in all nations and in all ages, from those comparatively small bodies of Christians, who, in certain places and at certain times, have been separated from it. “The Catholic Church,” says St. Augustine, “is so called, because it is spread throughout the world.” (1) “If your church,” adds he, addressing certain heretics, “is Catholic, shew me that it spreads its branches throughout the world; for such is the meaning of the word Catholic.” (2) “The Catholic or universal doctrine,” writes St. Vincent of Lerins, “is that which remains the same through all ages, and will continue so till the end of the world. He is a true Catholic, who firmly adheres to the faith which he knows the Catholic Church has universally taught from the days of old.” (3) It follows, from these and other testimonies of the fathers, and from the meaning of the term itself, that the true Church is *Catholic* or universal in three several respects, as to *persons*, as to *places*, and as to *time*. It consists of the most numerous body of Christians; it is more or less diffused wherever Christianity prevails; and it has visibly existed ever since the time of the apostles. Hence, dear sir, when you hear me glorying in the name of *Catholic*, you are to understand me as equivalently proclaiming thus: “I am not a Lutheran, nor a Calvinist, nor a Whitfieldite, nor a Wesleyan; I am not of the church of England, nor of the kirk of Scotland, nor of the consistory of Geneva. I can tell the place *where*, and the time *when*, each of these sects began; and I can describe the *limits* within which they are respectively confined: but I am a member of that great Catholic Church, which was planted by Christ and his apos-

(1) Epist. 170, ad S. Sever.

(2) Contra. Gaudent. l. iii. c. i.

(3) Commonit. The same father briefly and accurately defines the Catholic doctrine to be, that which has been believed *Semper et ubique et ab omnibus*.

ties, and has been spread throughout the world, and which still constitutes *the main stock of Christianity*; that to which all the fathers of antiquity and the saints of all ages have belonged on earth, and still belong in the bright regions above; that which has endured and overcome the persecutions and heresies of eighteen centuries: in short, that against which *the gates of hell have not prevailed*, and we are assured, *never shall prevail*. All this is implied by my title of *Catholic*.

But to form a more accurate opinion of the number and diffusiveness of Catholics, compared with any sect of Protestants, it is proper to make a slight survey of their state in the four quarters of the world. In Europe, then, notwithstanding the revolutionary persecution which the Catholic religion has endured and is enduring, it is still the religion of the several states of Italy, of most of the Swiss cantons, of Piedmont, of France, of Spain, of Portugal, and of the islands in the Mediterranean, of three parts in four of the Irish, of far the greater part of the Netherlands, Poland, Bohemia, Germany, Hungary, and the neighbouring provinces; and, in those kingdoms and states in which it is not the established religion, its followers are very numerous, as in Holland, Russia, Turkey, the Lutheran and Calvinistic states of Germany and England. Even in Sweden and Denmark several Catholic congregations, with their respective pastors, are to be found. The whole vast continent of South America, inhabited by many millions of converted Indians, as well as by Spaniards and Portuguese, may be said to be Catholic; the same may be said of the empire of Mexico, and the surrounding kingdoms in North America, including California, Cuba, Hispaniola, &c. Canada and Louisiana are chiefly Catholic; and throughout the United Provinces, the Catholic religion, with its several establishments, is completely protected, and unboundedly propagated. To say nothing of the islands of Africa, inhabited by Catholics, such as Malta, Madeira, Cape Verd, the Canaries, the Azores, Mauritius, Goree, &c. there are numerous churches of Catholics established and organized under their pastors in Egypt, Ethiopia, Algiers, Tunis, and the other Barbary states on the northern coast; and thence, in all the Portuguese settlements along the western coast, particularly at Angola and Congo. Even on the eastern coast, especially in the kingdom of Zanzibar and Monomotapa, are numerous Catholic churches. There are also many Catholic priests and many bishops with numerous flocks throughout the greater part of Asia. All the Maronites about mount Libanus, with

their bishops, priests, and monks, are Catholics ; so are many of the Armenians, Persians, and other Christians, of the surrounding kingdoms and provinces. (1) In whatever islands or states the Portuguese or Spanish power does prevail, or has prevailed, most of the inhabitants, and in some all of them, have been converted to the Catholic faith. The whole population of the Philippine islands, consisting of two millions of souls, is all Catholic. The diocese of Goa contains 400,000 Catholics. In short, the number of Catholics is so great throughout all the peninsula of India within the Ganges, notwithstanding the power and influence of Britain, as to excite the jealousy and complaints of the Protestant missionary, Dr. Buchanan. (2) In a late parliamentary record, it is stated, that in Travancor and Cochin is a Catholic archbishopric and two bishoprics, one of which contains 35,000 *communicants*. (3) There are numerous Catholic flocks, with their priests and even bishops, in all the kingdoms and states beyond the Ganges, particularly in Siam, Cochin-china, Tonquin, and the different provinces of the Chinese empire. I must add, on this subject, that, whereas none of the great Protestant sects was ever much more numerous or widely spread than it is at present, the Catholic Church, heretofore, prevailed in all the countries which they now collectively inhabit. The same may be said with respect to the Greek schismatics, and in a great measure to the Mahometans. It is in this point of view that the Right Rev. Dr. Marsh ought to institute his comparison between the church of England and the church of Rome ; (4) or rather the *Catholic Church in communion with the see of Rome*. In the meantime, we are assured by his fellow prelate, the bishop of Lincoln, that, " the articles and liturgy of the church of England do not correspond with the sentiments of the eminent reformers on the continent, or with the creeds of any Protestant churches there established." (5) And with respect to this very church, 'nothing would be more inconsistent than to ascribe the greater part of the population of our two islands to it. For, if the Irish Catholics, the Scotch Presbyterians, the English Methodists, and other dissenters, together with the vast population who neither are, nor profess to be, of any religion at all, are abstracted, to what a small number would the church of England be reduced ! And how utterly absurd

(1) See Sir R. Steele's Account of the Catholic Religion throughout the World.

(2) See Christian Researches in Asia, p. 131. Mem. Eccl.

(3) Dr. Kerr's Letter, quoted in the late Parliamentary Report on the Catholic question, p. 487.

(4) See his Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome !

(5) Charge in 1803.

would it be for *her* to pretend to be the *Catholic Church*! Nor are these the only abstractions to be made from her numbers, and indeed from those of all other Christian societies, divided from the true Church; since, there being but *one baptism*, all the young children who have been baptized in them, and all invincibly ignorant Christians, who exteriorly adhere to them, really belong to the Catholic Church, as I have shewn above.

In finishing this subject, I shall quote a passage from St. Augustin, which is as applicable to the sectaries of this age as it was to those of the age in which he lived. "There are heretics every where, but not the same heretics every where. For there is one sort in Africa, another sort in the East, a third sort in Egypt, and a fourth sort in Mesopotamia, being different in different countries, though all produced by the same mother, namely, pride. Thus also the faithful are all born of one common mother, the Catholic Church; and though they are every where dispersed, they are every where the same." (1)

But it is still more necessary that the true Church should be *Catholic or Universal* as to time, than as to numbers or to place. If there ever was a period since her foundation, in which she has failed, by teaching or promoting error or vice, then the promises of the Almighty in favour of the seed of David and the kingdom of the Messiah, in the book of Psalms, (2) and in those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, have failed; (3) then the more explicit promises of Christ, concerning this Church and her pastors, have failed; (4) then the creed itself, which is the subject of our present discussion, has been false. (5) On this point learned Protestants have been wonderfully embarrassed, and have perpetually involved themselves in the most palpable contradictions. A great proportion of them have maintained that the Church, in past ages, totally failed, and became a synagogue of Satan, and that its head pastor, the bishop of Rome, was and is *the man of sin*, the identical *antichrist*: but they have never been able to settle among themselves, when this most remarkable of all revolutions since the world began actually took place; or who were the authors, and who the opposers of it; or by what strange means the former prevailed on so many millions of people of different nations, languages, and interests through Christendom, to give up the supposed pure religion, which

(1) Lib. de Pact. c. 8

(2) Ps. lxxxviii. alias lxxxix, &c.

(3) Is. c. liv. liv. 31. Dan. ii. 44

(4) Matt. xvi. 18. xxviii. 19, 20.

(5) I believe in the holy Catholic Church.

they had learned from their fathers, and to embrace a new and false system, which its adversaries now call *Papery*! In a word, there is no way of accounting for the pretended change of religion, at whatever period this may be fixed, but by supposing, as I have said, that the whole collection of Christians on some night went to bed Protestants, and awoke the next morning Papists!

That the Church in communion with the see of Rome is the original as well as the most numerous Church, is evident in several points of view. *The stone cries out of the wall*, as the prophet expresses it, (1) in testimony of this. I mean that our venerable cathedrals and other stone churches, built by Catholic hands and for the Catholic worship, so as to resist in some sort that which is now performed in them, proclaim that ours is the ancient and original Church. This is still more clear from the ecclesiastical historians of our own as well as other nations. Venerable Bede, in particular, bears witness (2) that the Roman missionary, St. Augustin of Canterbury, and his companions, converted our Saxon ancestors, at the end of the sixth century, to the belief of the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the other Catholic doctrines and practices, as learned Protestants in general agree. (3) Now, as these missionaries were found to be of the same faith and religion, not only with the Irish, Picts, and Scots, who were converted almost two centuries before them, but also with the Britons or Welsh, who became Christians in the second century, so as only to differ from them about the time of keeping Easter and a few other unessential points, this circumstance alone proves the Catholic religion to have been that of the Church in the aforesaid early age. Still the most demonstrative proof of the antiquity and originality of our religion, are gathered from comparing it with that contained in the works of the ancient fathers. An attempt was made, during a certain period, by some eminent Protestants, especially in this country, to press the fathers into their service. Among these, bishop Jewel of Sarum was the most conspicuous. He not only boasted that those venerable witnesses of the primitive doctrine were generally on his side, but also published the following challenge to the Catholics: "Let them shew me but one only father, one doctor, one sentence, two lines, and the

(1) Habak. ii. 11. (2) Hist. Eccles.
Nunphreys the Centur. of Magdeb. &c.

(3) Bishop Bale.

sects of whom, such as the Arians, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, the Monotholites, the Albigenses, the Wickliffites, and the Hussites, have been exceedingly numerous and powerful in their turns, though most of them now have dwindled away to nothing; but observe, that none of the ancient heretics held the doctrines of any description of modern Protestants, and all of them maintained doctrines and practices which modern Protestants reprobate as much as Catholics do. Thus the Albigenses were real Manicheans, holding two first principles or deities, attributing the Old Testament, the propagation of the human species, to satan, and acting up to these diabolical maxims. (1) The Wickliffites and Hussites were the levelling and sanguinary Jacobins of the times and countries in which they lived; (2) in other respects these two sects were Catholics, professing their belief in the seven sacraments, the mass, the invocation of saints, purgatory, &c. If then your reverend visitor is disposed to admit such company into his religious communion, merely because they protested against the supremacy of the pope, and some other Catholic tenets, he must equally admit Jews, Mahometans and Pagans into it, and acknowledge them to be equally *Protestants* with himself.

Your reverend visitor concludes his letter with a long dissertation, in which he endeavours to shew, that however we Catholics may boast of the antiquity and perpetuity of our Church in past times, our triumphs must soon cease by the extinction of this Church, in consequence of the persecution now carrying on against it in France, and other parts of the continent; (3) and also from the preponderance of the Protestant power in Europe, particularly that of our own country; which, he says, is nearly as much interested in the extirpation of Popery as of Jacobinism. My answer is this: I see and bewail the anti-catholic persecution which has been, and is carried on in France and its dependent states, where to *deatholicize* is the order of the day. This was receded by the less sanguinary, though equally anti-catholic, persecution of the emperor Joseph II. and his relatives in Germany and Italy. I hear the exultations and menaces on this account of the Wranghams, De Coetlegons, Towsons, Bichenos, Kettæ, Fabers, Daubenys, and a crowd of other declamatory preacher and writers, some of whom proclaim that the Romish Babylon

(1) See an account of them, and the authorities on which this rests, in *Letters to a Prebendary*, Letter IV. (2) Ibid. (3) Namely, in 1802.

is on the point of falling, and others that she is actually *fallen*. In the mean time, though more living branches of the mystical vine should be cut off by the sword, and more rotten branches should fall off from their own decay, (1) I am not at all fearful for the life of the tree itself; since the Divine veracity is pledged for its safety, *as long as the sun and moon shall endure*, Ps. lxxxix; and since the experience of eighteen centuries has confirmed our faith in these divine promises. During this long interval, kingdoms and empires have risen and fallen; the inhabitants of every country have been repeatedly changed; in short, every thing has changed except the doctrine and jurisdiction of the Catholic Church, which are precisely the same now as Christ and his apostles left them. In vain did Pagan Rome, during three centuries, exert its force to drown her in her own blood; in vain did Arianism and other heresies sap her foundations, during two centuries more: in vain did hordes of barbarians from the north, and of Mahomedans from the south, labour to overwhelm her; in vain did Luther swear that he himself would be her death: (2) she has survived these and numerous other enemies equally redoubtable; and she will survive even the fury and machinations of anti-christian philosophy, though directed against her exclusively; for not a drop of Protestant

(1) Since the present letter was written, many circumstances have occurred to shew the *mistaken* politics of our rulers, in endeavouring to weaken and supplant the religion of their truly loyal and conscientious Catholic subjects. Among other measures for this purpose, may be mentioned the late instructions sent to the governor of Canada, which Catholic provinces alone remained faithful at the time of trial, when all the Protestant provinces abjured their allegiance. To the same intent may be cited the letter of Dr. Kerr, senior chaplain of Fort St. George, quoted in the late Parliamentary report. By this it appears that the Catholics in that province, generally converted about three hundred infidels to Christianity every year, and that there was a prospect of their converting many of the Hindoo chiefs, but that *our government set its face against these conversions*. Thus is the infamous worship of Juggernaut preferred to the religion which converted and civilized our ancestors. Juggernaut, as Dr. Buchanan informs us, is a huge idol, carved with the most obscene figures round it, and publicly worshipped before hundreds of thousands with obscene songs and unnatural rites, too gross to be described. It is placed on a carriage, under the wheels of which great numbers of its votaries are encouraged to throw themselves, in order to be crushed to death by them. Now this infernal worship is *not barely permitted*, but even supported by our government in India, as it takes a tribute from each individual who is present at it, and likewise *defrays the expense of it*, to the amount, says Dr. Buchanan, of 8,700*l.* annually, including the keep of the prostitutes, &c. (2) Luther ordered this epitaph to be engraved on his tomb: *Pestis eram vivens, moriens ero mors tua, Papa.*

blood has been shed in this impious persecution. Nor is that Church, which, in a single kingdom, the very head quarters of infidelity, could at once furnish 21,000 martyrs and 60,000 voluntary exiles, in defence of her faith, so likely to sink under external violence, or internal weakness, as your reverend friend supposes. Alluding to the then recent attempt of the emperor Julian to falsify the prophecy of Daniel by rebuilding the Jewish temple. St. John Chrysostom exclaimed: "Behold the temple of Jerusalem; God has destroyed it, and have men been able to restore it? Behold the Church of Christ; God has built it, have men been able to destroy it?" Should the Almighty permit such a persecution to befall any of the Protestant communions, as we have beheld raging against the Catholic Church on the continent, does your visitor really believe they will exhibit the same constancy in suffering for their respective tenets that she has shewn in defence of hers? In fact, for what tenets should their members suffer exile and death, since, without persecution, they have all, in a manner, abandoned their original creeds, from the uncertainty of their rule of faith, and their own natural mutability? Human laws and premiums may preserve the exterior appearance, or *mere carcass of a church*, as one of your divines expresses it; but if the pastors and doctors of it should demonstrate by their publications that they no longer maintain her original fundamental articles, can we avoid subscribing to the opinion, expressed by a late dignitary, that "the church in question, properly so called, is not in existence." (1)

I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

ON THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

LETTER XXXI.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—The last of the four marks of the Church, mentioned in our common creed, is APOSTOLICITY. We each of us declare, in our solemn worship: *I believe in One, Holy Catholic, and APOSTOLICAL Church*. Christ's last commission to his apostles was this: *Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son*

and of the *Holy Ghost: and lo! I am with you always, even unto THE END OF THE WORLD.* Matt. xxviii. 20. Now the event has proved, as I have already observed that the apostles themselves were only to live the ordinary term of man's life; therefore the commission of preaching and ministering, together with the promise of the divine assistance, regards the successors of the apostles, no less than the apostles themselves. This proves that there must have been an uninterrupted series of such successors of the apostles in every age since their time: that is to say, successors to their *doctrine*, to their *jurisdiction*, to their *orders*, and to their *mission*. Hence it follows that no religious society whatever, which cannot trace its succession, in these four points, up to the apostles, has any claim to the characteristic title, APOSTOLICAL.

Conformably with what is here laid down, we find the fathers and ecclesiastical doctors of every age referring to this mark of *apostolical succession*, as demonstrative of their belonging to the *true Church of Christ*. St. Irenæus of Lyons, the disciple of St. Polycarp, who himself appears to have been consecrated by St. John the evangelist, repeatedly urges this argument against his contemporary heretics. "We can count up," he says, "those who were appointed bishops in the churches by the apostles and their successors down to us, none of whom taught this doctrine. But as it would be tedious to enumerate the succession of bishops in the different churches, we refer you to the tradition of that greatest, most ancient, and universally known Church, founded at Rome by St. Peter and St. Paul, and which has been preserved there through the succession of its bishops down to the present time." He then relates the names of the several popes down to Eleutherius, who was then living. (1) Tertullian, who also flourished in the same century, argues in the same manner, and challenges certain heretics in these terms: "Let them produce the origin of their church; let them display the succession of their bishops; so that the first of them may appear to have been ordained by an *apostolic man*, who persevered in their communion." He then gives a list of the pontiffs in the Roman see, and concludes as follows: "Let the heretics feign any thing like this." (2) The great St. Augustin, who wrote in the fifth century, among other motives of credibility in favour of the Catholic religion, mentions the one in ques-

(1) Lib. iii. advers. Hær. c. 3.

(2) "Fingant tale aliquid hæretici." Præse.

tion : "I am kept in this Church," he says, "by the succession of prelates from St. Peter, to whom the Lord hath committed the care of his sheep, down to the present bishop." (1) In like manner St. Optatus, writing against the Donatists, enumerates all the popes from St. Peter down to the then living pope, Siricius, "with whom," he says, "we and all the world are united in communion. Do you, Donatists, now give the history of your episcopal ministry." (2) In fact, this mode of proving the Catholic Church to be *apostolical* is conformable to common sense and constant usage. If a prince is desirous of shewing his title to a throne, or a nobleman or gentleman his claim to an estate, he fails not to exhibit his genealogical table, and to trace his pedigree up to some personage whose right to it was unquestionable. I shall adopt the same precise method on the present occasion, by sending your society a slight sketch of our *Apostolical Tree*, by which they will see, at a glance, an abridgment of the succession of our chief bishops in the see of Rome, from St. Peter up to the present edifying pontiff, Pius VII. (3) as likewise that of other illustrious doctors, prelates, and saints, who have defended the apostolical doctrine by their preaching and writings, or who have illustrated it by their lives. They will also see the fulfilment of Christ's injunction to the apostles and their successors, in the conversion of nations and people to his faith and Church. Lastly, they will behold the unhappy series of heretics and schismatics, who, in different ages, have fallen off from the doctrine or communion of the apostolic Church. But as it is impossible, in so narrow a compass as the present sheet, to give the names of all the popes, or to exhibit the other particulars here mentioned in the distinct and detailed manner in which the subject seems to require, I will try to supply the deficiency by the subjoined copious note. (4)

(1) *Contra. Epist. Fundam.* (2) *Contra. Parmen. lib. ii.* (3) 1818; Gregory XVI. now fills the Papal Chair.

(4) CENT. I.

Within the first century from the birth of Christ, this long expected Messiah founded the kingdom of his holy Church in Judea, and chose his apostles to propagate the same throughout the earth, over whom he appointed Simon, as the *centre of union and head pastor*; charging him to feed his whole flock, sheep as well as lambs, giving him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and changing his name into that of PETER or ROCK, adding, *On this rock I will build my Church.* Thus dignified, St. Peter first established his see at Antioch, the head city of Asia, whence he sent his disciple, St. Mark, to establish and govern the see of Alexandria, the head city of Africa. He afterwards removed his own see to Rome, the capital of Europe and the world. Here, having, with St. Paul, sealed his

: do not, dear sir, pretend to exhibit a history of the Church, nor even a regular epitome of it, in the present note,

gospel with his blood, he transmitted his prerogative to St. Linus, from whom it descended in succession to St. Cletus and St. Clement. Among the other illustrious doctors of this age are to be reckoned, first, the other apostles, then SS. Mark, Luke, Barnab, Timothy, Titus, Hermas, Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, and Polycarp of Smyrna. From the few remaining writings of these may be gathered the necessity of unity and submission to bishops, tradition, the real presence, the sacrifice of the mass, veneration for relics, &c. In this age, churches were founded, besides the above-mentioned places, in Samaria, throughout Lesser Asia, in Armenia, India, Greece, Egypt, Ethiopia, Italy, Spain and Gaul; in this apostolical age also, and as it were under the eyes of the apostles, different proud innovators pretended to *reform* the doctrine which they taught. Among these were Simon the magician, Hymeneus and Philetus, the incontinent Nicolaites, Cerinthus, Elion, and Menander.

CENT. II.

The succession of the chief pastors in the chair of Peter was kept up through this century by the following popes, who were also, for the most part, martyrs: Anacleto, Evaristus, Alexander 1st, Xystus 1st, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius 1st, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, who sent Vagatius and Damianus to convert the Britons, and Victor 1st, who exerted his authority against certain Asiatic bishops for keeping Easter at an undue time. The truth of Christianity was defended in this age, by the apologists Quadratus, Aristides, Melito, and Justin, the philosopher and martyr; and the rising heresies of Valentinian, Marcion, and Carpocrates were confounded by the bishops Dionysius of Corinth, and Theophylus of Antioch, in the East; and by St. Irenæus and Tertullian, in the West. In the mean time the Catholic Church was more widely spread through Gaul, Germany, Scythia, Africa, and India, besides Britain.

CENT. III.

The popes who presided over the Church in the third age, were all eminent for their sanctity, and almost all of them martyrs. Their names are Zephyrinus, Calixtus 1st, Urban 1st, Pontianus, Antherus, Fabian, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephen 1st, Xystus 2nd, Dionysius, Felix 1st, Eutychius, Caius, and Marcellinus. The most celebrated doctors of this age were St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Minutius Felix; St. Cyprian and St. Hypolitius, both martyrs; and St. Gregory, surnamed for his miracles Thaumaturgus, bishop. At this time Arabia, the Belgic provinces, and many districts of Gaul were almost wholly converted; while Paul of Samosata, for denying the divinity of Christ, Sabellius, for denying the distinction of persons in the Blessed Trinity, and Novatus, for denying the power of the Church to remit sins, with Manes, who believed in two deities, were cut off as rotten branches from the Apostolical tree.

CENT. IV.

St. Marcellus, the first pope in this century, died through the hardships of imprisonment for the faith. After him came Eusebius, Melchisedes, Silvester, under whom the councils of Arles against the Donatists, and of Nice against the Arians, were held, Marcus, Julius, in whose time the right of appeal to the Roman see was confirmed, Liberius, and Damasus. The Church, which hitherto had been generally persecuted by the Roman emperors, was in this age alternately protected and oppressed by them

any more than in the Apostolical tree ; nevertheless, either of these will give you and your respectable society a suffi-

In the mean time her numbers were prodigiously increased by conversions throughout the Roman empire, and also in Armenia, Iberia, and Abyssinia, and her faith was invincibly maintained by St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Basil, St. Ambrose of Milan, &c. against the Arians, who opposed the divinity of Christ, the Macedonians, who opposed that of the Holy Ghost, the Aेरians, who impugned episcopacy, fasting and prayers for the dead, and other new heretics and schismatics.

CENT. V.

During this age the perils and sufferings of the Church were great ; but so also were the resources and victories by which her divine Founder supported her. On one hand, the Roman empire, that fourth great dynasty, compared by Daniel to iron, was broken to pieces by numerous hordes of Goths, Vandals, Huns, Burgundians, Franks, and Saxons, who came pouring in upon the civilized world, and seemed to be on the point of overwhelming arts, sciences, laws, and religion, in one undistinguished ruin. On the other hand, various classes of powerful and subtle heretics strained every nerve to corrupt the apostolical doctrine, and to interrupt the course of the apostles' successors. Among these the Nestorians denied the union of Christ's divine and human natures ; the Eutychians confounded them together ; the Pelagians denied the necessity of divine grace ; and the followers of Vigilantius scoffed at celibacy, prayers to the saints, and veneration for their relics. Against these innovators a train of illustrious pontiffs and holy fathers opposed themselves, with invincible fortitude and decided success. The popes were Innocent 1st, Zosimus, Boniface 1st, Celestin 1st, who presided by his legates in the council of Ephesus, Xystus 3rd, Leo the Great, who presided in that of Chalcedon, Hilarius, Simplicius, Felix 3rd, Gelasius 1st, Anastasius 2nd, and Symachus. Their zeal was well seconded by some of the brightest ornaments of orthodoxy and literature that ever illustrated the Church, St. John Chrysostom, St. Jerom, St. Augustin, St. Gregory of Nyssa, &c. By their means, and those of other apostolic Catholics, not only were the enemies of the Church refuted, but also her bounds greatly enlarged by the conversion of the Franks, with their king Clovis, of the Scotch and the Irish. The apostle of the former was St. Palladius, and of the latter St. Patrick, both commissioned by the see of Rome.

CENT. VI.

The Church had to combat with infidels, heretics, and worldly politicians, in this as in other ages ; but failed not to receive the accustomed proofs of the Divine protection amidst her dangers. The chief bishops succeeded each other in the following order : Hormisdas, St. John 1st, who died a prisoner for the faith, Felix 4th, Boniface 2nd, John 2nd, Agapetus 1st, St. Silverius, who died in exile for the unity of the Church, Vigilius, Pelagius 1st, John 3rd, Benedict 1st, Pelagius 2nd, and St. Gregory the Great, a name which ought to be engraved on the heart of every Englishman who knows how to value the benefits of Christianity, since it was he who first undertook to preach the gospel to our Saxon ancestors, and, when he was prevented by force from doing this, sent his deputies, St. Augustin and his companions on this apostolical errand. Other beneficial lights of this age were SS. Fulgentius of Ruspa, Cesarius of Arles, Lupus, Germanus, Severus, Gregory of Tours, our venerable Gildas, and the great pa-

cient idea of the uninterrupted succession of supreme pastors which has subsisted in the see of Rome from St. Peter,

triarch of the monks, St. Benedict. The chief heretics who disturbed the peace of the Church were the Acephali and Jacobites, both branches of Eutychianism, the Tritheists, the powerful supporters of the Three Chapters, Severus, Eleurus, Mongus, Anthimus, and Acacius. A more terrible scourge however than these, or than any other which the Church had yet felt, God permitted in this age to fall upon her, in the rapid progress of the impostor Mahomet. What however she lost in some quarters was made up to her in others, by the suppression of Arianism among the Visigoths of Spain, and among the Ostrogoths of Italy, and by the conversion of the Lazas, Axumites, and Southern English.

CENT. VII.

The popes in this century are most of them honoured for their sanctity, namely, Sabinianus, Boniface 3rd, Boniface 4th, Deusdedit, Boniface 5th, Honorius 1st, Severinus, John 4th, Theodorus, Martin 1st, who died an exile in defence of the faith, Eugenius 1st, Vitalianus, Domnus 1st, Agatho, who presided, by his legates, in the sixth general council, held against the Monotholites, Leo 2nd, Benedict 2nd, John 5th, Conon, and Sergius 1st. Other contemporary doctors and saints were St. Sophronius and St. John the Almoner, bishops, and St. Maximus, martyr, in the East. SS. Isidore, Ildefonsus, and Eugenius, in Spain; SS. Amand, Eligius, Omer, and Owen, in France; and SS. Paulinus, Wilfrid, Birinus, Felix, Chad, Aidan, and Cuthbert, in England. The East at this time was distracted by the Monotholite heretics, and in some parts by the Paulicians, who revived the detestable heresy of the Manicheans, but most of all by the sanguinary course of the Mahometans, who overran the most fertile and civilized countries of Asia and Africa, and put a stop to the apostolical succession in the primitive sees of the East. To compensate for these losses, the Church spread her roots wide in the Northern regions. The whole heptarchy of England became Christian, and diffused the sweet odour of Christ throughout the West. Hence issued SS. Willibrord and Swibert to convert Holland and Frizeland, and the two brothers, of the name of Ewald, who confirmed their doctrine with their blood. The martyr St. Killian, who converted Franconia, was an Irishman; but all these apostolical men received their commission from the chair of St. Peter.

CENT. VIII.

The apostolical succession in the see of Rome was kept up in this age by John 6th, John 7th, Sisinnius, Constantine, Gregory 2nd, Gregory 3rd, Zacharias, Stephen 2nd, Stephen 3rd, Paul 1st, Adrian 1st, who presided by his legates in the seventh general council against the Iconoclasts, and Leo 3rd. The Saracens now crossed the straits of Gibraltar and nearly overran Spain, making numerous martyrs; while Felix and Elipand, broached errors in the West nearly resembling those of Nestorius. The most signal defenders of the orthodox doctrine were St. Germanus, patriarch, St. John Damascen, Paul the deacon, Ven. Bede, St. Aldhelm, St. Willibald, Alcuin, St. Boniface, bishop and martyr, and St. Lullus. Most of these were Englishmen, and by their means Hessa, Thuringia, Saxony, and other provinces, were added to the Catholic Church.

CENT. IX.

The Apostolical tree in this age was agitated by storms more violent than usual; but, being refreshed with the dew of grace from above, held
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whom Christ made head of his Church, up to the present pope, Pius VII. And this attribute of perpetual succession,

fast by its roots. Claudius of Turin, united in one system the heresies of Nestorius, Vigilantius, and the Iconoclasts, while Gotescale laboured to infect the Church with Predestinarianism. A more severe blow to her, however, was the Greek schism, occasioned by the resentment and ambition of the hypocrite Photius. But the greatest danger of all arose from the overbearing power of the antichristian Musselmans, who now carried their arms into Sicily, France and Italy, and became masters, for a time, of the holy see itself. The succession of its bishops, however, continued uninterrupted in the following order: Stephen 5th, Pascal 1st, Eugenius 2nd, Valentin, Gregory 4th, Sergius 2nd, Leo 4th, Benedict 3rd, Nicolas 1st, Adrian 2nd, who presided by his legates in the eighth general council, John 8th, Marinus, Adrian 3rd, Stephen 6th, Formosus, Stephen 7th, and Romanus. Other props of the Church in this age were Theodore the studite, St. Ignatius, the legitimate patriarch of Constantinople, Rabanus, Hincmar, and Agobard, French bishops, together with our countrymen, St. Swithun, Neot, Grimbold, Alfred, and Edmund. In this age St. Ansgarius converted the people of Holstein, and SS. Cyril and Methodius the Slavonians, Moravians, and Bohemians, by virtue of a commission from pope Adrian 2nd.

CENT. X.

The several popes during this century were Theodore 2nd, John 9th, Benedict 4th, Leo 5th, Christopher, Sergius 3rd, Anastasius, Lando, John 10th, Leo 6th, Stephen 8th, John 11th, Leo 7th, Stephen 9th, Martin 2nd, Agapetus 2nd, John 12th, Benedict 5th, John 13th, Benedict 6th, Dominus 2nd, Benedict 7th, John 14th, John 15th, and Gregory 5th. This age is generally considered as the least enlightened by piety and literature of the whole number. Its greatest disgrace, however, arose from the misconduct of several of the above-mentioned pontiffs, owing to the prevalence of civil factions at Rome, which obstructed the freedom of canonical election: yet in this list of names there are ten or twelve which do honour to the papal calendar, and even those who disgraced it by their lives, performed their public duty in preserving the faith and unity of the Church irreproachably. In the mean time, a crowd of holy bishops and other saints, worthy the age of the apostles, adorned most parts of the Church, which continued to be augmented by numerous conversions. In Italy SS. Peter Damian, Romuald, Nilus, and Rathier, bishop of Verona, adorned the Church with their sanctity and talents, as did the holy prelates, Ulric, Wolfgang, and Bruno, in Germany, and Odo, Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold, in England. At this time St. Adalbert, bishop of Prague; converted the Poles by his preaching and his blood; the Danes were converted by St. Poppo, the Swedes by St. Sigifrid, an Englishman, the people of Lesser Russia by SS. Bruno and Boniface, and the Muscovites by missionaries sent from Greece, but at a time when that country was in communion with the see of Rome.

CENT. XI.

During this age the vessel of Peter was steered by several able and virtuous pontiffs. Silvester 2nd was esteemed a prodigy of learning and talents. After him came John 18th, John 19th, Sergius 4th, Benedict 8th, John 20th, Benedict 9th, Gregory 6th, Clement 2nd, Damasus 2nd, Leo 9th who has deservedly been reckoned among the saints, Victor 2nd.

you are, dear sir, to observe, is peculiar to the see of Rome for in all the other churches, founded by the apostles, as those

Stephen 10th, Nicholas 2nd, Alexander 2nd, Gregory 7th, who is also canonized, Victor 3rd, and Urban 2nd. Other defenders of virtue and religion in this age were St. Eiphoge and Laufranc, archbishops of Canterbury, the prelates Burcard of Worms, Fulbert and Ivo of Chartres, Otilo an abbot, Alcar a monk, Guimund and Theophylactus. The crown also was now adorned with saints equally signal for their virtue and orthodoxy. In England shone St. Edward the Confessor; in Scotland, St. Margaret; in Germany, St. Henry, emperor; in Hungary, St. Stephen. The cloister was also now enriched with the Cistercian order by St. Robert; with the Carthusian order by St. Bruno: and with the order of Valombrosa by St. John Gualbert. While, on one hand, a grand branch of the Apostolic tree was lopped off, by the second defection of the Greek Church, and some rotten boughs were cut off from it in the new Manicheans, who had found their way from Bulgaria into France, as likewise in the followers of the innovator Berengarius, it received fresh strength and increase from the conversion of the Hungarians, and of the Normans and Danes, who before had desolated England, France, and the Two Sicilies.

CENT. XII.

In this century heresy revived with fresh vigor, and in a variety of forms, though mostly of the Manichean family. Mahometanism also again threatened to overwhelm Christianity. To oppose these, the Almighty was pleased to raise up a succession of as able and virtuous popes as ever graced the tiara, with a proportionable number of other Catholic champions to defend his cause. These were Paschal 2nd, Gelasius 2nd, Calixtus 2nd, Honorius 2nd, Innocent 2nd, who held the second general council of Lateran, Celestin 2nd, Lucius 2nd, Eugenius 3rd, Anastasius 4th, Adrian 4th, an Englishman, Alexander 3rd, who held the third Lateran council, Lucius 3rd, Urban 3rd, Gregory 8th, Clement 3rd and Celestine 3rd. The doctors of note were, in the first place, the mellifluous and sainted Bernard, who was not more powerful in word than in work; likewise the venerable Peter, abbot of Clugni, St. Anselm and St. Thomas, archbishops of Canterbury, Peter Lombard, master of the sentences, St. Otto, bishop of Bamberg, St. Norbert of Magdeburg, St. Henry of Upsal, St. Malachy of Armagh, St. Hugh of Lincoln, and St. William of York. The chief heresies alluded to, were those propagated by Marsilius of Padua, Arnold of Brescia, Henry of Thoulouse, Tanchelm, Peter Bruis, the Waldenses, or disciples of Peter Waldo, and the Bogomilians, Patarini, Cathari, Puritans, and Albigenses, all the latter being different sects of Manicheans. To make up for the loss of these, the Church was increased by the conversion of the Norwegians and Livonians, chiefly through the labours of the above-named Adrian 4th, then an apostolic missionary, called Nicholas Breakspear. Courland was converted by St. Meinard, and even Iceland was engrafted in the Apostolic tree by the labours of Catholic missionaries.

CENT. XIII.

The successors of St. Peter in this age were Innocent 3rd, who held the fourth Lateran council, at which 412 bishops, 800 abbots, and ambassadors from most of the Christian sovereigns were present, for the extinction of the impious and infamous Albigensian or Manichean heresy. Honorius 3rd, Gregory 9th, Celestin 4th, Innocent 4th, who held the first general council of Lyons, Alexander 4th, Urban 4th, Gregory 10th, who held the

of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Corinth, Ephesus, Smyrna, &c. owing to internal dissensions and external violence, the

second council of Lyons, in which the Greeks renounced their schism, though they soon fell back into it, Innocent 5th, Adrian 5th, John 21st, Nicholas 3rd, Martin 4th, Honorius 4th, Nicholas 4th, Celestin 5th, who abdicated the pontificate and was afterwards canonized, and Boniface 6th. The most celebrated doctors of the Church were St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Bonaventure, St. Anthony of Padua, and St. Raymond of Pennafort. Other illustrious supporters and ornaments of the Church were St. Lewis, king of France, St. Elizabeth, queen of Hungary, St. Hedwige of Poland, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Dominic, St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, St. Thomas of Hereford, and St. Richard of Chichester. The chief heretics were the Beguards and Fratricelli, whose gross immoralities Mosheim himself confesses. In the mean time Spain was, in a great measure, recovered to the Catholic Church from the Mahometan impiety; Courland, Guthland, and Estonia, were converted by Bahlwin, a zealous missionary: the Cumani, near the mouths of the Danube, were received into the Church, and several tribes of Tartars, with one of their emperors, were converted by the Franciscan missionaries, whom the pope sent among them, not, however, without the martyrdom of many of them.

CENT. XIV.

Still did the promise of Christ, in the preservation of his Church, contrary to all opposition, and beyond the term of all human institutions, continue to be verified. The following were the head pastors who successively presided over it: Benedict 11th, Clement 5th, who held the general council of Vienna, John 22nd, Clement 6th, Innocent 6th, Urban 5th, Gregory 11th, Urban 6th, and Boniface 9th. Among the chief ornaments of the Church in this age may be reckoned St. Elizabeth, queen of Portugal, St. Bridget of Sweden, count Elzear and his spouse Delphina, St. Nicholas of Tolentino, St. Catharine of Siena, John Rushbrock, Peter, bishop of Autun, &c. The Manichean abominations maintained and practised by the Turlupins, Dulcinians, and other sects, continued to exercise the vigilance and zeal of the Catholic pastors; and the Lollards of Germany, together with the Wickliffites of England, whose errors and conduct were levelled at the foundations of society, as well as of religion, were opposed by all true Catholics in their respective stations. The chief conquests of the Church in this century were in Lithuania, the prince and people of which received her faith, and in Great Tartary, where the archbishopric of Cambalu and six suffragan bishoprics were established by the pope. Odoric, the missionary, who furnished the account of these events, is known himself to have baptized 20,000 converts.

CENT. XV.

The succession of popes continued through this century, though among numerous difficulties and dissensions, in the following order: Innocent 5th, Gregory 12th, Alexander 5th, John 23rd, Martin 5th, Eugenius 4th, who held the general council of Florence, and received the Greeks once more into the Catholic communion; Nicholas 5th, Calixtus 3rd, Pius 2nd, Paul 2nd, Sixtus 4th, Innocent 6th, and Alexander 6th. In this age flourished St. Vincent Ferrer, the wonder-worker, both in the order of grace and in that of nature; St. Francis of Paula, whose miracles were not less numerous or extraordinary; St. Laurence Justinian, patriarch of Venice, St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, St. Casimir, prince of Poland, the venerable

succession of their bishops has, at different times, been broken and confounded. Hence the see of Rome is emphatically and

Thomas à Kempis, Dr. John Gerson, Thomas Waldensis, the learned English Carmelite, Alphonsus Tozzatus, Cardinal Ximenes, &c. At this period the Canary islands were added to the Church, as were, in a great measure, the kingdoms of Congo and Angola, with other large districts in Africa and Asia, wherever the Portuguese established themselves. The Greek schismatics also, as I have said, together with the Armenians and Monotholites of Egypt, were, for a time, engrafted on the Apostolical tree. These conquests, however, were damped by the errors and violence of the various sects of Hussites, and the immoral tenets and practices of the Adamites, and other remnants of the Albigenses.

CENT. XVI.

This century was distinguished by that furious storm from the north, which stripped the Apostolic tree of so many leaves and branches in this quarter. That arrogant monk, Martin Luther, vowed destruction to the tree itself, and engaged to plant one of those separated branches instead of it: but the attempt was fruitless; for the main stock was sustained by the arm of Omnipotence, and the dissevered boughs splitting into numberless fragments, withered, as all such boughs had heretofore done. It would be impossible to number up all these discordant sects; the chief of them were the Lutherans, the Zuinglians, the Anabaptists, the Calvinists, the Anglicans, the Puritans, the Family of Love, and the Socinians. In the mean time, on the trunk of the Apostolical tree grew the following pontiffs: Pius 3rd, Julius 2nd, who held the fifth Lateran council, Leo 10th, Adrian 6th, Clement 7th, Paul 3rd, Julius 3rd, Marcellus 2nd, Paul 4th, Pius 4th, who concluded the council of Trent, where 281 prelates condemned the novelties of Luther, Calvin, &c. St. Pius 5th, Gregory 13th, Sixtus 5th, Urban 7th, Gregory 14th, Innocent 9th, and Clement 8th. Other supporters of the Catholic and Apostolic Church against the attacks made upon her were Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, chancellor, Cuthbert Maine, and some hundreds more of priests and religious, who were martyred under Henry 8th and Elizabeth in this cause; also the cardinals Pole, Hosius, Cajetan, and Allen, with the writers Eckius, Cochleus, L'Infant, Erasmus, Campion, Parsons, Stapleton, &c. together with that constellation of great saints which then appeared, SS. Charles Borromeo, Cajetan, Philip Neri, Ignatius, F. Xaverius, F. Borgia, Teresa, &c. In short the damages sustained from the northern storm were amply repaid to the Church, by innumerable conversions in the new eastern and western worlds. It is computed that St. Xaverius alone preached the faith in 52 kingdoms or independent states, and baptized a million of converts with his own hand, in India and Japan. St. Lewis Bertrand, Martin of Valentia, and Bartholomew Las Casas, with their fellow-missionaries converted most of the Mexicans, and great progress was made in the conversion of the Brazilians, though not without the blood of many martyred preachers in these and the other Catholic missions. David, emperor of Abyssinia, with many of his family and other subjects, who was now reclaimed to the Church, and Pulika, patriarch of the Nestorians in Assyria, came to Rome, in order to join the numerous churches under him to the centre of unity and truth.

CENT. XVII.

The sects, of which I have been speaking, were, at the beginning of this century, in their full vigour; and though they differed in most

for a double reason called the APOSTOLICAL SEE; and being the head see and centre of union of the whole Catholic

spects, yet they combined their forces, under the general name of Protestants, to overthrow Christ's everlasting Church. These attempts, however, like the waves of the troubled ocean, were dashed to pieces against the rock on which he had built it. On the contrary, they weakened themselves by civil wars and fresh divisions. The Lutherans split into Diaphorists and Adisphorists, the Calvinists into Gomarists and Arminians, and the Anglicans into Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and Quakers. A vain effort was now set on foot, through Cyril Lucaris, to gain over the Greek churches to Calvinism, which ended in demonstrating their inviolable attachment to all the controverted doctrines of Catholicity. Another more fatal attempt was made to infect several members of the Church itself with the distinguishing error of Calvinism, under the name of Jansenism. But the successors of St. Peter continued, through the whole of this century, equally to make head against Protestant innovations, Jansenistical rigour, and casuistical laxity. Their names in order were these: Leo 11th, Paul 5th, Gregory 15th, Urban 8th, Innocent 10th, Alexander 7th, Clement 9th, Clement 10th, Innocent 11th, Alexander 8th, and Innocent 12th. Their orthodoxy was powerfully supported by the cardinals Bellarmine, Baronius, and Perron, with the bishops Huetius, Bossuet, Fenelon, Richard Smith, and the divines Petavius, Tillemont, Pagi, Thomassin, Kellison, Cressy, &c. Nor were the canonized saints in this age fewer in number or less illustrious than those of the former; namely, St. Francis of Sales, St. Frances Chantal, St. Camillus, St. Fidelis martyr, St. Vincent of Paul, &c. Finally, the Church continued to be crowded with fresh converts in Peru, Chili, Terra Firma, Canada, Louisiana, Mingrelia, Tartary, India, and many islands both of Africa and Asia. She had also the consolation of receiving into her communion the several patriarchs of Damascus, Aleppo, and Alexandria, and also the Nestorian archbishops of Chaldaea and Meliapore, with their respective clergy.

CENT. XVIII.

At length we have mounted up the Apostolical tree to our own age. In it, heresy having sunk, for the most part, into Socinian indifference, and Jansenism into philosophic infidelity, this last waged as cruel a war against the Catholic Church [and, O glorious mark of truth! against her *alone*], as Decius and Dioclesian did heretofore: but this has only proved her internal strength of constitution, and the protection of the God of heaven. The pontiffs, who have stood the storms of this century, were Clement 11th, Innocent 13th, Benedict 13th, Clement 12th, Benedict 14th, Clement 13th, Clement 14th, Pius 6th, as at the beginning of the present century Pius 7th has done. Among other modern supporters and ornaments of the Church may be mentioned the cardinals Thomas and Quirini, the bishops Languet, La Motte, Beaumont, Challoner, Hornyhold, Walmesley, Hay, and Moylan. Among the writers are Calmet, Muratori, Bergier, Feller, Gother, Manning, Hawarden, and Alban Butler; and among the personages distinguished by their piety, the good dauphin, his sister Louisa the Carmelite nun, his heroical daughter Elizabeth, his other daughter Clotilde, whose beatification is now in progress, as are those of bishop Liguori, and Paul of the Cross, founder of the Passionists; as also FF. Surenne, Nolhac, and L'Enfant, with their fellow-martyrs, and the venerable Labre, &c. Nor has the apostolical work of converting infidels been neglected by the Catholic Church, in the midst of such persecutions.

lurch, furnishes the first claim to the title of **THE APOSTOLICAL CHURCH**. But you also see, in the sketch of his mystical tree, an uninterrupted succession of other bishops, doctors, pastors, saints, and pious personages, of different times and countries, through these eighteen centuries, who have, in their several stations, kept up the perpetual succession: those of one century having been the instructors of those who succeeded them in the next; all of them following the same twofold rule, scripture and tradition; all of them acknowledging the same expositor of this rule, the Catholic Church; and all of them adhering to the main trunk or centre of union, the apostolic see. Some of the general councils or synods likewise appear, in which the bishops from different parts of the Church assembled, from time to time, under the authority of the pope, to define its doctrine and regulate its discipline. The size of the sheet did not admit of all the councils being exhibited. Again you behold, in this tree, the continuation of the apostolical work, the conversion of nations; which as it was committed by Christ to the Catholic Church, so it has never been blessed by him with success in any hands but in hers. This exclusive miracle, in the order of grace, like those in the order of nature, which I treated of in a former letter, is itself a divine attestation in her behalf. Speaking of the conversion of nations, I must not fail, dear sir, to remind your society, that this our country has twice been reclaimed from Paganism, and each time by the apostolic labours of missionaries, sent hither by the see of Rome. The first conversion took place in the second century, when pope Eleutherius sent Fugatius and Damianus for this purpose to the ancient Britons, or Welch, under their king or governor, Lucius, as Bede and other historians relate. The second conversion was that of our immediate ancestors, the English Saxons and Angles, by St. Augustin and his companions, at the end of the sixth century, who were sent from Rome, on this apostolical errand, by pope Gregory the great. Lastly,

In the early part of the century numberless souls were gained by Catholic preachers in the kingdoms of Madura, Cochin-china, Tonquin, and in the empire of China, including the peninsula of Corea. At the same time numerous savages were baptized among the Hurons, Miamis, Illinois, and other tribes of North America. But the most glorious conquest, because the most difficult and most complete, was that gained by the Jesuits in the interior of South America over the wild savages of Paraguay, Uruguay, and Parana, together with the wild Canisians, Moxos, and Chiquites, who, after shedding the blood of some hundreds of their first preachers, at length opened their hearts to the mild and sweet truths of the gospel, and became models of piety and morality; nor less so of industry, civil order and polity

you see in the present sketch, a series of unhappy children of the Church, who, instead of *hearing* her doctrines, as it was their duty to do, have pretended to *reform* them; and thus losing the vital influx of their parent stock, have withered and fallen off from it as mere dead branches.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

ON THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE CATHOLIC MINISTRY.

LETTER XXXII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—In viewing the *Apostolical tree*, you are to consider it as representing an uninterrupted succession of pontiffs and prelates, who derive not barely their *doctrine*, but also, in a special manner, their *ministry*, namely, their *holy orders*, and the *right of jurisdiction* to exercise those orders, in a right line from the apostles of Jesus Christ. In fact, the Catholic Church, in all past ages, has not been more jealous of the sacred deposit of *orthodox doctrine*, than of the equally sacred deposits of *legitimate ordination* by bishops, who themselves had been rightly ordained and consecrated, and of *valid jurisdiction* or *divine mission*, by which she authorizes her ministers to exercise their respective functions in such and such places, with respect to such and such persons, and under such and such conditions, as she, by the depositaries of this jurisdiction, is pleased to ordain. Thus, my dear sir, every Catholic pastor is authorized and enabled to address his flock as follows: *The word of God, which I announce to you, and the holy sacraments which I dispense to you, I am QUALIFIED to announce and dispense by such a Catholic bishop, who was consecrated by such another Catholic bishop, and so on, in a series, which reaches to the apostles themselves: and I am AUTHORIZED to preach and minister to you by such a prelate, who received authority, for this purpose, from the successor of St. Peter, in the apostolic see of Rome.* Heretofore, during a considerable time, the learned and conscientious divines of the church of England held the same principles, on both these points, that Catholics have ever held, and were no less firm in maintaining the *divine right* of episcopacy and the ministry than we are. This appears from the works of one who was, perhaps, the most profound and accurate amongst them, the celebrated

Hooker. He proves, at great length, that the ecclesiastical ministry is a divine function, instituted by God and deriving its authority from God, "in a very different manner from that of princes and magistrates:" that it is "a wretched blindness not to admire so great a power as that which the clergy are endowed with, or to suppose that any but God can bestow it:" that "it consists in a power over the *mystical body* of Christ, by the *remission of sins*, and over his *natural body* in the *sacrament*, which antiquity doth call *the making of Christ's body*." (1) He distinguishes between the power of orders and the authority of *mission* or *jurisdiction*; on both which points he is supported by the canons and laws of the establishment. Not to speak of prior laws, the act of uniformity (2) provides that no minister shall hold any living, or officiate in any church, who has not received episcopal ordination. It also requires that he shall be approved and *licensed* for his particular place and *function*. This is also clear from the form of induction of a clerk into any cure. (3) In virtue of this system, when episcopacy was re-established in Scotland, in the year 1662, four Presbyterian ministers having been appointed by the king to that office, the English bishops refused to consecrate them, unless they consented to be previously ordained deacons and priests; thus renouncing their former ministerial character, and acknowledging that they had hitherto been mere laymen. (4) In like manner, on the accession of king William, who was a Dutch Calvinist, to the throne, when a commission of ten bishops and twenty divines was appointed to modify the articles and liturgy of the established church, for the purpose of forming a coalition with the Dissenters, it appeared that the most lax among them, such as Tillotson and Burnet, together with chief baron Hales, and other lay lords, required that the dissenting ministers should at least be *conditionally ordained*, (5) as being thus far mere laymen. In a word, it is well known to be the practice of the established church, at the present day, to ordain all dissenting Protestant ministers of every description who go over to her; whereas, she never attempts to re-ordain an apostate Catholic priest, who offers himself to her

(1) Ecclesiast. Politic. b. v. art. 77. (2) Stat. 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4.
 (3) "Curam et regimen animarum parochianorum tibi committimus."
 (4) Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 887. It appears from the same history that four other Scotch ministers, who had formerly permitted themselves to be consecrated bishops, were on that account excommunicated and degraded by the kirk. Records, n. cxiii. (5) Life of Tillotson by Dr Birch, pp 42, 176.

service, but is satisfied with his taking the oaths prescribed by law. (1) This doctrine of the establishment evidently *unchurches*, as Dr. Heylin expresses it, all other Protestant communions, as it is an established principle, that *no ministry, no church*; (2) and with equal evidence it *unchristians* them also, since this church unanimously resolved, in 1575, that baptism cannot be performed by any person but a lawful minister. (3)

But, dismissing these uncertain and wavering opinions, we know what little account of all other Protestants, except those of England, have made of apostolical succession and episcopal ordination. Luther's principles on these points are clear from his famous *bull against the FALSELY CALLED order of bishops*, (4) where he says: "Give ear now, you bishops, or rather you visors of the devil: Doctor Luther will read you a bull and a reform, which will not sound sweet in your ears. Doctor Luther's bull and reform is this: whoever spend their labour, persons, and fortunes, to lay waste your episcopacies, and to extinguish the government of bishops,—they are the beloved of God, true Christians, and opposers of the devil's ordinances. On the other hand, whoever support the government of bishops, and willingly obey them,—are the devil's ministers," &c. True it is, that afterwards namely in 1542, this arch-reformer, to gratify his chief patron, the elector of Saxony, took upon himself to consecrate his bottle companion, Armsdorf, bishop of Naumburg: (5) but then it is notorious, from the whole of his conduct, that Luther set himself above all law, and derided all consistency and decency. Nearly the same may be said of another late reformer, John Wesley, who, professing himself to be a *presbyter of the church of England*, pretended to ordain Messrs. Whatcoat, Vesey, &c. *priests*, and to consecrate Dr. Coke a

(1) Notwithstanding these proofs of the doctrine and practice of the established church, a great proportion of her modern divines consent at the present day to sacrifice all her pretensions to divine authority and uninterrupted succession. It has been shewn in this *Letters to a Prebendary*, that in the principles of the celebrated Dr. Balguy, a priest or a bishop can as well be made by the town crier, if commissioned by the civil power, as by the metropolitan. To this system Dr. Sturges, Dr. Hey, Dr. Paley, and a crowd of other learned theologians subscribe their names. Even the bishop of Lincoln, in maintaining episcopacy to be an apostolical institution, denies it to be binding on Christians to adopt it: which, in fact, is to reduce it to a mere civil and optional practice. Elem. vol. ii. Art. 23
 (2) "Ubi nullus est Sacerdos nulla est Ecclesia." St. Jerom, &c
 (3) Elem. of Theol. vol. ii. p. 471. (4) *Adversus falso Nomin.* tom. ii. Jen. A. D. 1525. (5) Sleidan, Comment. l. 14.

bishop! (1) With equal inconsistency the elders of Hernhuth, in Moravia, profess to consecrate bishops for England and other kingdoms. On the other hand, how averse the Calvinists and other dissenters are to the very *name* as well as the *office* of *bishops*, all modern histories, especially those of England and Scotland, demonstrate. But, in short, by whatever name, whether of bishops, priests, deacons, or pastors, those ministers respectfully call themselves, it is undeniable that they are all *self-appointed*, or at most they derive their claim from other men, who themselves were *self-appointed*, fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen hundred years subsequent to the time of the apostles.

The chief question which remains to be discussed concerns the ministry of the church of England; namely, whether the first Protestant bishops, appointed by queen Elizabeth, when the Catholic bishops were turned out of their sees, did or did not receive valid consecration from some other bishop, who was validly consecrated? The discussion of this question has filled many volumes, the result of which is that the orders are, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful. For, first, it is certain that the doctrine of the fathers of this church was very loose as to the necessity of consecration and ordination. Its chief founder, Cranmer, solemnly subscribed his name to the position, that princes and governors, no less than bishops can make priests, and that no consecration is appointed by scripture to make a bishop or priest. (2) In like manner, Barlow, on the validity of whose consecration that of Matthew Parker and of all succeeding Anglican bishops chiefly rests, preached openly that the king's appointment, without any *orders* or *ordination* whatsoever, suffices to make a bishop. (3) This doctrine seems to have been broached by him, to meet the objection that he himself had never been consecrated: in fact, the record of such a transaction has been hunted for in vain during these two hundred years. Secondly, it is evident from the books of controversy still extant, that the Catholic doctors Harding, Bristow, Stapleton, and cardinal Allen, who had been fellow-students and intimately acquainted with the first Protestant bishops, under Elizabeth,

(1) Dr. Whitehead's Life of Charles and John Wesley. It appears that Charles was horribly scandalized at this step of his brother John, and that lasting schism among the Wesleyan Methodists was the consequence of it. (2) Burnet's Hist. of Reform. Records, B. iii. N. 21. See also his Rec. part ii. N. 2, by which it appears that Cranmer and the other complying prelates, on the death of Henry VIII. took out fresh commissions from Edward VI. to govern their dioceses, *durante bene placito*, like mere civil officers. (3) Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 135.

and particularly with Jewel, bishop of Sarum, and Horne, bishop of Winton, constantly reproached them, in the most pointed terms, that they never had been consecrated at all; and that the latter, in their voluminous replies, never accepted of the challenge or refuted the charge, otherwise than by ridiculing the *Catholic* consecration. Thirdly, it appears that after an interval of fifty years from the beginning of the controversy, namely, in the year 1613, when Mason, chaplain to archbishop Abbot, published a work referring to an alleged register at Lambeth of archbishop Parker's consecration by Barlow, assisted by Coverdale and others, the learned Catholics universally exclaimed that the register was a forgery, *unheard of till that date*; and asserted, among other arguments, that, admitting it to be true, it was of no avail, as the pretended consecrator of Parker, though he had sat in several sees, had not himself been consecrated for any of them. (1)

These, however, are not the only exceptions which Catholic divines have taken to the ministerial orders of the church of England. They have argued in particular against the *form* of them, as theologians term it. In fact, according to the ordinal of Edward VI. restored by Elizabeth, priests were ordained by the power of *forgiving sins*, (2) without any power of *offering up sacrifice*, in which the essence of the *sacerdotium* or *priesthood* consists; and, according to the same ordinal, bishops were consecrated without the communication of any fresh power whatsoever, or even the mention of episcopacy, by a *form* which might be used to a child when confirmed or baptized. (3) This was agreeable to the maxim of the principal author of that ordinal, Cranmer, who solemnly decided that "bishops and priests were no two things, but one and the same office." (4) On this subject our controvertists urge, not only the authority of all the Latin and Greek ordinals, but also the confession of the abovementioned Protestant divine, Mason, who says, with evident truth, "Not every form of words will serve for this institution (conveying orders), but such as are significant of

(1) Richardson in his notes on Godwin's Commentary is forced to confess as follows; "Dies consecrationis ejus (Barlow) nondum apparet." P. 642. (2) "Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained; and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy sacraments." Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 158. (3) "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee by the imposition of hands." Ibid. p. 164. (4) Burnet's Hist. of Reform. vol. i. Record, b. ii. n. 21, quest. 10

the power conveyed by the order." (1) In short, these objections were so powerfully urged by our divines, Dr. Champney, J. Lewgar, S. T. B. (2) and others, that almost immediately after the last named had published his work, called *Erastus Senior*, in 1662, concerning them, the convocation, being assembled, *altered the form* of ordaining priests and consecrating bishops, in order to obviate these objections. (3) But admitting that these alterations are sufficient to obviate *all* the objections of our divines to the ordinal, which they are not, they came about a hundred years too late for their intended purpose; so that if the priests and bishops of Edward's and Elizabeth's reigns were invalidly ordained and consecrated, so must those of Charles the second's reign and their successors have been also.

However long I have dwelt on this subject, it is not yet exhausted. The case is, there is the same necessity of an apostolical succession of *mission*, or authority, to execute the functions of holy orders, as there is of the holy orders themselves. This *mission*, or authority, was imparted by Christ to his apostles, when he said to them: *As the Father hath sent me, I also send you*, Matt. xx. 21, and of this St. Paul also speaks, where he says of his apostles: *How can they preach, unless they are sent?* Rom. x. 15. I believe, sir, that no regular Protestant church or society admits its ministers to have, by their ordination or appointment, unlimited authority in every place and congregation. Certain it is, from the ordinal and articles of the established church, that she confines the jurisdiction of her ministers to "the congregation to which they shall be appointed." (4) Conformably to this, Dr. Berkley teaches, that "a defect in the *mission* of the ministry invalidates the sacraments, affects the purity of public worship, and therefore deserves to be investigated by every sincere Christian." (5) To this archdeacon Daubeny

(1) Burnet's Hist. of Reform, vol. i. Record, b. ii. c. 16. (2) Lewgar was the friend of Chillingworth, and by him converted to the Catholic faith, which, however, he refused to abandon when the latter relapsed into Latitudinarianism. (3) The form of ordaining a priest was thus altered: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands: Whose sins thou shalt forgive, they are forgiven," &c. The form of consecrating a bishop was thus enlarged: "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and remember that thou stir up the grace of God, which is in thee." (4) Article 23. Form of ordaining priests and deacons (5) Sermon at Consecr. of Bishop Horne.

adds, that "regular mission only subsists in the churches which have preserved apostolical succession." I moreover believe, that in all Protestant societies the ministers are persuaded that the authority by which they preach and perform their functions is, some how or other, *divine*. But on this head, I must observe to you, dear sir, and your society, that there are only two ways by which divine mission or authority can be proved or communicated; the one *ordinary*, the other *extraordinary*. The former takes place, when this authority is transmitted in regular succession from those who originally received it from God; the other, when the Almighty interposes, in an extraordinary manner, and immediately commissions certain individuals to make known his will unto men. The latter mode evidently requires indisputable miracles to attest it; and accordingly Moses and our Saviour Christ, who were sent in this manner, constantly appealed to the prodigies they wrought in proof of their divine mission. Hence, even Luther, when Muncer, Storck, and their followers, the Anabaptists, spread their errors and devastations through Lower Germany, counselled the magistrates to put these questions to them (not reflecting that the questions were as applicable to himself as to Muncer): "Who *conferred upon you the office* of preaching? And who *commissioned you* to preach? If they answer, *God*: then let the magistrates say, *Prove this to us* by some evident miracle; for so God makes known his will when he changes the institutions which he had before established." (1) Should this advice of the first reformer to the magistrates be followed in this age and country, what swarms of sermonizers and expounders of the bible would be reduced to silence! For, on one hand, it is notorious that they are *self-appointed* prophets, who *run without being sent*; or, if they pretend to a *commission*, they derive it from other men, who themselves had received none, and who did not so much as claim any by regular succession from the apostles. Such was Luther himself; such also were Zuinglius, Calvin, Muncer, Menno, John Knox, George Fox, Zinzendorf, Wesley, Whitfield, and Swedenborg. None of these preachers, as I have signified, so much as pretended to have received their mission from Christ in the *ordinary way*, by uninterrupted succession from the apostles. On the other hand, they were so far from undertaking to work real miracles, by way of proving they had received an *extraordinary mission from God*, that, as Erasmus reproached them, they

(1) Sleidan. De Stat. Relig. l. v.

would not so much as cure a lame horse in proof of their divine legation.

Should your friend, the Rev. Mr. Clark, see this letter, he will doubtless exclaim, that, whatever may be case with dissenters, the church of England at least has received her mission and authority, together with her orders, by regular succession from the apostles, through the Catholic bishops, in the ordinary way. In fact, this is plainly asserted by the bishop of Lincoln. (1) But take notice, dear sir, that though we were to admit of an apostolical succession of *orders* in the established church, we never could admit of an apostolical succession of *mission, jurisdiction*, or right to exercise those orders in that church: nor can its clergy, with any consistency, lay the least claim to it. For, first, if the Catholic Church, that is to say, its "laity and clergy, all sects and degrees, were drowned in abominable idolatry, most detested of God and damnable to man, for the space of eight hundred years," as the homilies affirm, (2) how could she retain this divine mission and jurisdiction all this time, and all this time employ them in commissioning her clergy to preach up this "abominable idolatry?" Again, was it possible for the Catholic Church to give jurisdiction and authority to archbishop Parker, for example, and the bishops Jewel and Horne, to preach against herself? Did ever any insurgents against an established government, except the regicides in the grand rebellion, claim authority from that very government to fight against it and destroy it? In a word, we perfectly well know from history, that the first English Protestants did not profess, any more than foreign Protestants, to derive any mission or authority whatsoever from the apostles, through the existing Catholic Church. Those of Henry's reign preached and ministered in defiance of all authority, ecclesiastical and civil. (3) Their successors in the reign of Edward and Elizabeth claimed their whole right and mission to preach and to minister from the civil power only. (4) This latter point is demonstratively evident from the act and the oath of supremacy, and from the homage of the archbishops and bishops to

(1) Elem. of Theol. vol. ii. p. 400. (2) Against the Perils of Idolatry, p. 3. (3) Collier's Hist. vol. ii. p. 81. (4) In the reign of James I. archbishop Abbot having incurred suspension by the canon law, for accidentally shooting a man, a royal commission was issued to restore him. On another occasion, he was suspended by the king himself, for refusing to license a book. In Elizabeth's reign the bishops approved of *prophesying*, as it was called; the queen disapproved of it, and she obliged them to condemn it

the said Elizabeth, in which the prelate elect "acknowledges and confesses, that he holds his bishopric, as well *in spiritualia* as in temporals, from her alone. and the crown royal." The same thing is clear from a series of royal ordinances respecting the clergy, in matters purely spiritual, such as the *pronouncing on doctrine*, the *prohibition of prophesying*, the *inhibition of all preaching*, the *giving and suspending of spiritual faculties*, &c. Now, though I sincerely and cheerfully ascribe to my sovereign all the *temporal and civil power*, jurisdiction, rights, and authority, which the constitution and laws ascribe to him, I cannot believe that Christ appointed any temporal prince to *feed his mystical flock*, or any part of it, or to exercise *the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven* at his discretion. It was foretold by bishop Fisher, in parliament, that the royal ecclesiastical supremacy, if once acknowledged, might pass to a child or to a woman, (1) as in fact it soon did to each of them. It was afterwards transferred, with the crown itself, to a foreign Calvinist, and might have been settled, by a lay assembly, on a Mahometan. All, however, that is necessary for me here to remark is, that the acknowledgment of a royal ecclesiastical supremacy "in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes," (2) (as when the question is, who shall preach, baptize, &c. and who shall not? what is sound doctrine, and what is not?) is decidedly a renunciation of Christ's commission given to his apostles, and preserved by their successors in the Catholic Apostolic Church. Hence it clearly appears that there is, and can be, no *apostolical* succession of ministry in the established church, more than in the other congregations or societies of Protestants. All their preaching and ministering, in their several degrees, is performed by *mere human authority*. (3) On the other hand, not a sermon is preached, nor a child baptized, nor a penitent absolved, nor a priest ordained, nor a bishop consecrated, throughout the whole extent of the Catholic Church, without the minister of such function being able to shew his authority from Christ for what he does, in the commission of Christ to his apostles: *All power in heaven and on earth is given to me: Go therefore teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.* Matt. xxviii. 19; and without his being able to prove his

(1) See his Life by Dr. Bailey; also Dodd's Eccles. Hist. vol. 1. (2) Oath of supremacy, homage of bishops, &c. (3) It is curious to see in queen Elizabeth's injunctions, and in the 37th Article; the disclaimer of her "*actually ministering the word and the sacraments.*" The question was not about this, but about the *jurisdiction* or *mission* of the ministry.

claim to that commission of Christ, by producing the table of his uninterrupted succession from the apostles. I will not detain you by entering into a comparison, in a religious point of view, between a ministry which officiates by *divine authority*, and others which act by *mere human authority*; but shall conclude this subject by putting it to the good sense and candour of your society, whether, from all that has been said, it is not as evident, which among the different communions is THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH we profess to believe in, as which is THE CATHOLIC CHURCH?

I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER XXXIII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I FIND that your visitor, the Rev. Mr. Clark, had not left you at the latter end of last week; since it appears, by a letter which I have received from him, that he had seen my two last letters, addressed to you at New Cottage. He is much displeased with their contents, which I am not surprised at; and he uses some hard expressions against them and their author, of which I do not complain, as he was not a party to the agreement entered into at the beginning of our correspondence; by the tenor of which, I was left at full liberty to follow up my arguments to whatever lengths they might conduct me, without any person of the society being offended with me on that account. I shall pass over the passages in the letter which seem to have been dictated by too warm a feeling, and shall confine my answer to those which contain something like argument against what I have advanced.

The reverend gentleman, then, objects against the claim of our pontiffs to the apostolical succession; that in different ages this succession has been interrupted by the contentions of rival popes; and that the lives of many of them have been so criminal, that, according to my own argument, as he says, it is incredible that such pontiffs should have been able to preserve and convey the commission and authority given by Christ to his apostles. I grant, sir, that, from the various commotions and accidents to which all sublunary things are

subject, there have been several vacancies or interregnums in the papacy; but none of them have been of such a lengthened duration, as to prevent a moral continuation of the popedom, or to hinder the execution of the important offices annexed to it. I grant also, that there have been rival popes and unhappy schisms in the Church, particularly one great schism, at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century: still the true pope was always discernible at the times we are speaking of, and in the end was acknowledged even by his opponents. Lastly, I grant that a few of the popes, perhaps a tenth part of the whole number, swerving from the example of the rest, have, by their *personal vices*, disgraced their holy station: but even these popes always fulfilled their *public duties* to the Church, by maintaining the *apostolical doctrine*, moral as well as speculative, the *apostolical orders*, and the *apostolical mission*; so that their misconduct chiefly injured their own souls, and did not sensibly affect the Church. But if what the Homilies affirm were true, that the whole Church had been "drowned in idolatry for 800 years," she must have taught and commissioned all those whom she ordained to teach this horrible apostasy; which she never could have done, and at the same time have retained Christ's commission and authority to teach all nations the gospel. This demonstrates the inconsistency of those clergymen of the establishment, who accuse the Catholic Church of apostasy and idolatry, and at the same time boast of having received, *through her*, a spiritual jurisdiction and ministry from Jesus Christ.

Your visitor next expatiates, in triumphant strains, on the exploded fable of pope Joan; for *exploded* it certainly may be termed, when such men as the Calvinist minister Blondel, and the infidel Bayle, have abandoned and refuted it. But the circumstances of the fable themselves sufficiently refute it. According to these, in the middle of the ninth century, an *English woman*, born at Mentz, in *Germany*, (1) studied philosophy at *Atheni*, (where there was no school of philosophy in the ninth century, more than there is now) and taught divinity at *Rome*. It is pretended that, being elected pope, on the death of Leo IV. in 855, she was *delivered of a child*, as she was walking in a *solemn procession* near the Colliseum, and *died* on the spot; and moreover, that a *statue of her* was there erected in memory of the *disgraceful event*! There have been great debates among the learned, concerning the

(1) Ita Pseudo Martinus Polonus, &c.

first author of this absurd tale, and concerning the interpolations in the copies of the first chronicles which mention it. (1) At all events, it was never heard of for more than 200 years after the period in question, and, in the mean time, we are assured, from the genuine works of *contemporary writers* and distinguished prelates, some of whom then resided at Rome, such as Anastasius the librarian, Luitprand, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, Photius of Constantinople, Lupus Ferrar, &c. that Benedict III. was canonically elected pope in the said year 855, only three days after the death of Leo IV. which evidently leaves no interval for the pontificate of pope Joan.

From the warfare of attack my reverend antagonist passes to that of defence, as he terms it. In this he heavily complains of my not having done justice to the Protestants, particularly in the article of *foreign missions*. On this head, he enumerates the different societies existing in this country for carrying them on, and the large sums of money which they annually raise for this purpose. The societies, I learn from him, are the following: first, The society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, called the Bartlet Buildings society, which though strictly of the establishment, employs missionaries in India to the number of six, all Germans, and it should seem all *Lutherans*. 2dly, There is the society for Propagating Christianity in the English colonies; but I hear nothing of its doings. 3dly, There is another for the Conversion of Negro slaves, of which I can only say, ditto. 4thly, There is another for sending missionaries to Africa and the East, concerning which we are equally left in the dark. 5thly, There is the London Missionary society, which sent out the ship Duff, with certain preachers and their wives to Otaheite, Tougabato, and the Marquesas, and published a journal of the voyage, by which it appears, that they are strict Calvinists and Independents. 6thly, The Edinburgh Missionary society fraternizes with the last mentioned. 7thly, There is an Armenian Missionary society under Dr. Coke, the head of the Wesleyan Methodists. 8thly, There is a Moravian Missionary society, which appears more active than any other, particularly at the Cape, and in Greenland and Surinam. To these, your visitor says, must be added, the Hibernian society for diffusing Christian knowledge in Ireland; as also, and still more particularly, the Bible society, with all its numerous ramifications. Of this last named, he *speaks glorious*

(1) See Breviarium Historico—Chronologico—criticum Pontif. Roman. scriptio R. F. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 72.

things, foretelling that it will, in its progress, purify the world from infidelity and wickedness.

In answer to what has been stated, I have to mention several marked differences between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries. The former preach various discordant religions; for what religions can be more opposite than the Calvinistic and the Armenian? And how indignant would a churchman feel, if I were to charge him with the impiety and obscenity of Zinzendorf and his Moravians? The very preachers of the same sect, on board of the *Duff*, had not agreed upon the creed they were to teach, when they were within a few days sail of Otaheite. (1) Whereas the Catholic missionaries, whether Italians, French, Portuguese, or Spaniards, taught and planted precisely the same religion in the opposite extremities of the globe. Secondly, the envoys of those societies had no commission or authority to preach, but what they derived from the men and women, who contributed money to pay for their voyages and accommodations. *I have not sent these prophets*, says the Lord, *yet they ran; I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied.* Jer. xxii. 21. On the other hand, the apostolical men, who, in ancient and in modern times, have converted the nations of the earth, all derived their mission and authority from the centre of the Apostolic tree, the see of Peter. Thirdly, I cannot but remark the striking difference between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, with respect to their qualifications and method of proceeding. The former were, for the most part, mechanics and laymen of the lowest order, without any learning infused or acquired, beyond what they could pick up from the English translation of the bible; they were frequently encumbered with wives and children, and armed with muskets and bayonets, to kill those whom they could not convert. (2) Whereas the Catholic missionaries have been always priests, or ascetics, trained to literature and religious exercises, men of continency and self-denial, who have had no other defence than their breviary and crucifix; no other weapon than *the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God.* Ephes. vi. 17.—

(1) "By the middle of January, the committee of eight (among the 30 missionaries) had nearly finished *the articles of faith*. Two of the number dissented, but gave in."—*Journal of the Duff*. (2) The 18 preachers who remained at Otaheite "took up arms *by way of precaution*."—*Ibid*. It appears from subsequent accounts, that the preachers made use of their arms, to protect their wives from the men whom they came to convert. Of the nine preachers destined for Tongabato, six were for carrying firearms on shore, and three against it.

Fourthly, I do not find any portion of that lively faith, and that heroic constancy, in braving poverty, torments, and death, for the gospel, among the few Protestant converts, or even among their preachers, which have so frequently illustrated the different Catholic missions. Indeed, I have not heard of a single martyr of any kind, in Asia, Africa, or America, who can be considered as the fruit of the above-named societies, or of any Protestant mission whatever. On the other hand, few are the countries in which the Christian religion has been planted by Catholic priests, without being watered with some of their own blood and that of their converts. To say nothing of the martyrs of a late date in the Catholic missions of Turkey, Abyssinia, Siam, Tonquin, Cochinchina, &c. there has been an almost continual persecution of the Catholics in the empire of China, for about a hundred years past, which, besides confessors of the faith, who have endured various tortures, has produced a very great number of martyrs, native Chinese as well as Europeans; laity as well as priests and bishops. (1) Within these two years, (2) the wonderful apostle of the great peninsula of Corea, to the east of China, James Ly, with as many as 100 of his converts, has suffered death for the faith. In the islands of Japan, the antichristian persecution, excited by the envy and avarice of the Dutch, raged with a fury unexampled in the annals of Pagan Rome. It began with the crucifixion of 26 martyrs, most of them missionaries. It then proceeded to more horrible martyrdoms, and it concluded with putting to death as many as eleven hundred thousand Christians. (3) Nor were those numerous and splendid victories of the gospel in the provinces of South America achieved without torrents of Catholic blood. Many of the first preachers were slaughtered by the savages to whom they announced the gospel, and not unfrequently devoured by them, as was the case with the first bishop of Brazil. In the first place, the Protestant missions have never been attended with any great success. Those heretofore carried on by the Dutch, French, and American Calvinists, seem to have been more levelled at the Catholic missions, than at the conversion of the Pagans. (4) In later

(1) *Hist. de l'Eglise par Berault Bercastel*, tom. 22, 23. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, Feb. 5. *Mem. Eccles. pour le 18 Siec.* (2) Namely, in 1801. While this work was in the press, we received an account of the martyrdom of Mgr. Dufresse, bishop of Tabraca, and vicar apostolic of Sutchuen, in China, who was beheaded there Sept. 14, 1815, and of F. J. de Frior, missionary of Chiensi, who, after various torments, was strangled Feb. 18, 1816. (3) *Berault Bercastel* says two millions, tom. 20. (4) It is gene-

times, the zealous Wesley went on a mission to convert the savages of Georgia, but returned without making one proselyte. Whitfield afterwards went to the same country on the same errand, but returned without any greater success. Of the missionaries who went out in the Duff, those who were left at the Friendly Islands and the Marquesas abandoned their posts in despair, as did eleven of the eighteen left at Otaheite. The remaining seven had not, in the course of six years, baptized a single islander. In the mean time, the depravity of the natives in killing their infants and other abominations increased so fast, as to threaten their total extinction. In the Bengal government, extending over from 30 to 40 millions of people, with all its influence and encouragement, not more than 80 converts have been made by the Protestant missionaries in seven years, and those were almost all Chandalas or outcasts from the Hindoo religion, who were glad to get a pittance for their support; (1) "for the perseverance of several of whom," their instructors say, "they tremble." (2) How different a scene do the Catholic missions present! To say nothing of ancient Christendom, all the kingdoms and states of which were reclaimed from Paganism and converted to Christianity by Catholic preachers, and not one of them by preachers of any other description: what extensive and populous islands, provinces and states, in the east and in the west, were wholly, or in a great part, reclaimed from idolatry, soon after Luther's revolt, by Catholic missionaries! But to come still nearer to our own time: F. Bouchet alone, in the course of his twelve years labours in

rally known, and not denied by Mosheim himself, that the extermination of the flourishing missions in Japan is to be ascribed to the Dutch. When they became masters of the Portuguese settlements in India, they endeavoured, by persecution as well as by other means, to make the Christian natives abandon the Catholic religion, to which St. Xavier and his companions had converted them. The Calvinist preachers having failed in their attempt to proselyte the Brazilians, it happened that one of their party, James Sourie, took a merchant vessel at sea with 40 Jesuit missionaries, under F. Azevedo, on board of it, bound to Brazil; when in hatred of them and their destination, he put them all to death. The year following, F. Diaz, with 11 companions, bound on the same mission, and falling into the hands of the Calvinists, met with the same fate. Incredible pains were taken by the ministers of New England to induce the Hurons, Iroquois, and other converted savages, to abandon the Catholic religion, when the latter answered them: "You never preached the word to us while we were Pagans; and now that we are Christians, you try to deprive us of it." (1) Extract of a speech of C. Marsh Esq. in a committee of the House of Commons, July 1, 1815. See also Major Waring's Remarks on Oxford Sermons (2) Transact. of Protes. Miss. quoted in Edinb. Review, April, 1808.

Madura, instructed and baptized 20,000 Indians, while F. Britto, within fifteen months only, converted and regenerated 8,000, when he sealed his mission with his blood. By the latest returns, which I have seen, from the eastern missionaries to the directors of the French *Missions Etrangères*, it appears that in the western district of Tonquin, during the five years preceding the beginning of this century, 4,101 adults and 26,915 children were received into the Church by baptism, and that in the lower part of Cochin-china 900 grown persons had been baptized in the course of two years, besides vast numbers of children. The empire of China contains six bishops and some hundreds of Catholic priests. In a single province of it, Sutchuen, during the year 1796, 1,500 adults were baptized, and 2,527 catechumens were received for instruction. By letters of a later date from the above mentioned martyr Dufresse, bishop of Tabraca, and vicar apostolic of Sutchuen, it appears, that during the year 1810, in spite of a severe persecution, 965 adults were baptized; and that during 1814, though the persecution increased, 829, without reckoning infants, received baptism. Bishop Lamote, vicar apostolic of Fokien, testifies that, in his district, during the year 1810, 10,384 infants and 1,677 grown persons were baptized, and 2,674 catechumens admitted. From this short specimen, I trust, dear sir, it will appear manifest to you, on which Christian society God bestows his grace to execute the work of the apostles, as well as to preserve their *doctrine*, their *orders*, and their *mission*.

As to the wonderful effects which your visitor expects in the conversion of the Pagan world from the *Bible Society*, and the three score and three translations into foreign tongues of the English translation of the bible, I beg leave to ask him, who is to vouch to the Tartars, Turks, and idolaters, that the testaments and bibles which the society is pouring in upon them were inspired by the Creator? Who is to answer for these translations, made by officers, merchants, and merchants' clerks, being accurate and faithful? Who is to teach these barbarians to read, and after that to make any thing like a connected sense of the mysterious volumes? Does Mr. C. really think that an inhabitant of Otaheite, when he is enabled to read the bible, will extract the sense of the thirty-nine articles or of any other Christian system whatever from it? In short, has the Bible society, or any of the other Protestant societies, converted a single Pagan or Mahometan by the bare text of scripture? When such a convert can be produced, it will be time enough for me to propose to him those further

gravelling questions which result from my observations on the sacred text in a former letter to you. In the mean time, let your visitor rest assured that the Catholic Church will proceed in the old and successful manner, by which she has converted all the Christian people on the face of the earth; the same which Christ delivered to his apostles and their successors: *Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.* Mark, xvi. 15. On the other hand, how illusory the gentleman's hopes are, that the depravity of this age and country will be reformed by the efforts of the Bible society, has been victoriously proved by the Rev. Dr. Hook, who, with other clearsighted churchmen, evidently sees that the grand principle of Protestantism, strictly reduced to practice, would undermine their establishment. One of his brethren, the Rev. Mr. Gisborne, had publicly boasted that, in proportion to the opposition which the Bible society met with, its annual income had increased, till it reached near 100,000*l.* in a year: Dr. Hook, in return, shewed, by lists of the convictions of criminals, during the first seven years of the society's existence, that the wickedness of the country, instead of being diminished, had almost been doubled! (1) Since that period up to the present year, it has increased three-fold and four-fold, compared with its state before the society began.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE now, dear sir, completed the second task which I undertook, and therefore proceed to sum up my evidence. Having then proved in my twelve former letters, the rough copies of which I have preserved, that the two alleged rules of faith, that of *private inspiration* and that of *private interpretation of scripture*, are equally fallacious, and that there is no certain way of coming to the truth of divine revelation, but by *hearing that Church* which Christ *built on a rock* and

(1) List of capital convictions in London and Middlesex in the annexed years, from Dr. Hook's Charge, and the London Chronicle:

In the year	1808	1809	1810	1811	1813	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817
Convictions	728	863	884	872	993	1012	1027	2299	2592	3177

It appears, by a return made to the House of Commons, in obedience to their order, June 5, 1818, that the number of criminals committed for trial, and of those sentenced to death, during the last thirteen years, nearly corresponding with that of the Bible society's progress, has about tripled; namely,

Committed for Trial.
 In 1805..... 4605
 In 1817..... 13932

Sentenced to Death.
 In 1805..... 350
 In 1817..... 1302

promised to *abide with for ever*; I engaged in this my second series of letters, to demonstrate which among the different societies of Christians, is the Church that Christ founded and still protects. For this purpose I have had recourse to the principal *characters or marks of Christ's Church*, as they are pointed out in scripture, and formally acknowledged by Protestants of nearly all descriptions, no less than by Catholics, in their articles, and in those creeds which form part of their private prayers and public liturgy; namely *Unity, Sanctity, Catholicity, and Apostolicity*. In fact, this is what every one acknowledges, who says in the Apostle's creed: *I believe in the holy Catholic Church*; and, in the Nicene creed, (1) *I believe one Catholic Apostolic Church*. Treating of the first mark of the true Church, I proved from natural reason, scripture and tradition, that *unity* is essential to her; I then shewed that there is no union or principle of union among the different sects of Protestants, except their common *protestation* against their mother Church; and that the church of England, in particular, is *divided against itself*, in such a manner, that one of its most learned prelates has declared himself *afraid to say what is its doctrine*. On the other hand, I have shewn that the Catholic Church, spread as she is over the whole earth, is one and the same in her *doctrine*, in her *liturgy*, and in her *government*; and, though I detest religious persecution, I have, in defiance of ridicule and clamour, vindicated her unchangeable doctrine, and the plain dictate of reason, as to the indispensable obligation of believing what God teaches; in other words, of a right faith: I have even proved that her adherence to this tenet is a proof both of the *truth* and the *charity* of the Catholic Church. On the subject of *holiness*, I have made it clear, that the pretended Reformation every where originated in the pernicious doctrine of *salvation by faith alone, without good works*; and that the Catholic Church has ever taught the necessity of them both; likewise that she possesses many peculiar *means of sanctity*, to which modern sects do not make pretension; likewise that she has, in every age, produced the genuine *fruits of sanctity*, while the fruits of Protestantism have been of quite an *opposite nature*: finally, that *God himself has borne witness to the sanctity of the Catholic Church* by undeniable *miracles*, with which he has illustrated her in every age. It did not require much pains to prove, that the Catholic Church possesses, exclusively, the name of CATHO

(1) See the Communion Service in Com. Prayer.

LIC; and not much more to demonstrate that she alone has the *qualities* signified by that name. That the Catholic Church is also APOSTOLICAL, by descending in a right line from the apostles of Christ, is as evident as that she is Catholic. However, to illustrate this matter, I have sketched out a genealogical, or, as I call it, the *Apostolical Tree*, which, with the help of a note subjoined, shews the uninterrupted succession of the Catholic Church in her chief pontiffs and other illustrious prelates, doctors, and renowned saints, from the apostles of Christ, during eighteen centuries, to the present period; together with the continuation in her of the apostolical work of converting nations and people. It shews also a series of unhappy heretics and schismatics, of different times and countries, who, refusing to hear her inspired voice and to obey her divine authority, have been separated from her communion and have withered away, like branches cut off from the vine, which are fit for no human use. *Ezek. xv.* Finally, I have shewn the necessity of an uninterrupted succession from the apostles of *holy orders* and *divine mission*, to constitute an apostolical Church; and have proved that these, or at least the latter of them, can only be found in the holy Catholic Church. Having demonstrated all this in the foregoing letters, I am justified, dear sir, in affirming that the *motives of credibility*, in favour of the Christian religion in general, are not one whit more clear and certain, than those in favour of the Catholic religion in particular. But without inquiring into the *degree of evidence* attending the latter motives, it is enough for my present purpose, that they are *sufficiently evident* to influence the conduct of dispassionate persons, who are acquainted with them, and who are really in earnest to save their souls. Now, in proof that these motives are at least so far clear, I may again appeal to the conduct of Catholics on a death-bed, who in that awful situation never wish to die in any religion but their own: I may also appeal to the conduct of many Protestants in the same situation who seek to reconcile themselves to the Catholic Church. Let us, one and all, my dear sir, as far as in our power, adopt those sentiments in every respect now, which we shall entertain, when the transitory scene of this world is closing to our sight, and during the countless ages of eternity. O the length, the breadth, and the depth of the abyss of ETERNITY! "*No security*," says a holy man, "*can be too great, where eternity is at stake.*"(1) I am, &c. - JOHN MILNER.

(1) "Nulla satis magna securitas ubi periclitatur eternitas."

THE
END OF CONTROVERSY.

PART THIRD.

ON RECTIFYING MISTAKES CONCERNING THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH.

PART III.

ON RECTIFYING MISTAKES CONCERNING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

"It is a shame to charge men with what they are not guilty of, in order to make the breach wider, already too wide."—*Dr. Monague, Bishop of Norwich. Inroc. of Saints, p. 60.*

"Let them not lead people by the nose to believe they can prove their opposition, that the Pope is antichrist, and the Papists idolaters, when they cannot."—*Dr. Herbert Thorndyke, Prebendary of Westminster. Just Rights and Measures, p. 11.*

"The object of their (the Catholics) adoration of the blessed sacrament is not only true and eternal God, hypostatically joined with his holy humanity, which humanity they believe actually present under the veil of the sacramental signs: and if they thought him not present, they are so far from worshipping the bread in this case, that themselves profess it to be idolatry &c. &c."—*Dr. Jer. Taylor, Bishop of Down. Liberty of Prophesying, c. xx.*

INTRODUCTION.

LETTER XXXIV.

From JAMES BROWN, Esq. to JOHN MILNER, D.D. F.S.A.

REVEREND SIR,—The whole of your letters have again been read over in our society; and they have produced important though diversified effects on the minds of its several members. For my own part, I am free to own that, as your former letters convinced me of the truth of your rule of faith, namely, the entire word of God, and of the right of the true Church to expound it in all questions concerning its meaning, so your subsequent letters have satisfied me, that the characters or marks of the true Church, as they are laid down in our common creeds, are clearly visible in the Roman Catholic Church, and not in the collection of Protestant churches, nor in any one of them. This impression was, at first, so strong upon my mind, that I could have answered you nearly in the words of king Agrippa to St. Paul: *Almost thou persuadest me to become a Catholic. Acts. xxvi. 28.* The same appear to be the sentiments of several of my friends: but when, on comparing our notes together, we considered the heavy charges, particularly of superstition and idolatry, brought

against your Church by our eminent divines, and especially by the bishop of London, (Dr. Porteus) and never, that we have heard of, refuted or denied, we cannot but tread back the steps we have taken towards you, or rather stand still where we are, in suspense, till we hear what answer you will make to them. I speak of those contained in the bishop's well-known treatise called *A Brief Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome*. With respect to certain other members of our society, I am sorry to be obliged to say, that, on this particular subject, I mean the arguments in favour of your religion, they do not manifest the candour and good sense which are natural to them, and which they shew on every other subject. They pronounce, with confidence and vehemence, that Dr. Porteus's charges are all true, and that you cannot make any rational answer to them; at the same time that several of these gentlemen, to my knowledge, are very little acquainted with the substance of them. In short, they are apt to load your religion and the professors of it with epithets and imputations too gross and injurious for me to repeat, convinced as I am of their falsehood. I shall not be surprised to hear that some of these imputations have been transmitted to you by the individuals alluded to, as I have declined making my letters the vehicle of them; it is a justice, however, which I owe them to assure you, reverend sir, that it is only since they have understood the inference of your arguments to be such as to imply an obligation on them of renouncing their own respective religions and embracing yours, that they have been so unreasonable and violent. Till this period, they appeared to be nearly as liberal and charitable with respect to your communion as to any other.

I am, reverend sir, &c. JAMES BROWN.

ON THE CHARGES AGAINST THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

LETTER XXXV.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—I SHOULD be guilty of deception, were I to disguise the satisfaction I derive from your and your friends' near approach to the *House of Unity and Peace*, as St. Cyprian calls the Catholic Church: for such I must judge your

situation to be, from the tenor of your last letter; by which it seems to me, that your entire reconciliation with this Church depends on my refuting bishop Porteus's objections against it. And yet, dear sir, if I were to insist on the strict rules of reasoning, I might take occasion of complaining of you, from the very concessions which afford me so much pleasure. In fact, if you admit that the Church of God, is, by his appointment, *the interpreter of the entire word of God*, you ought to pay attention to *her* doctrine on every point of it. and not to the suggestions of Dr. Porteus, or your own fancy, in opposition to it. Again; if you are convinced that the *one, holy, catholic, and apostolical* Church is the *true* Church of God, you ought to be persuaded that it is utterly *impossible* that she should inculcate idolatry, superstition, or any other wickedness, and, of course, that those who believe her to be thus guilty, are, and must be, in a fatal error. I have proved from *reason, tradition, and holy scripture*, that, as individual Christians cannot of themselves judge with certainty of matters of faith, God has therefore provided them with an unerring guide in his holy Church; and hence that Catholics, as Tertullian and St. Vincent of Lerins emphatically pronounce, cannot strictly and consistently be required, by those who are not Catholics, to vindicate the particular tenets of their belief, either from scripture or any other authority: it being sufficient for them to shew, that they hold the doctrine of the true Church, which all Christians are bound to hear. Nevertheless, as it my duty, after the example of the apostle, to *become all things to all men*, 1 Cor. ix. 22, and as we Catholics are conscious of being able to meet our opponents on their own ground, as well as on ours, I am willing, dear sir, for your satisfaction, and that of your friends, to enter on a brief discussion of the leading points of controversy, which are agitated between the Catholics and the Protestants, particularly those of the church of England. I must, however, previously stipulate with you for the following conditions, which I trust you will find perfectly reasonable.

1st. I require that Catholics should be permitted to *lay down their own principles* of belief and practice, and, of course, to distinguish between their *articles of faith*, in which they must all agree, and mere *scholastic opinions*, of which every individual may judge for himself; as, likewise, between the *authorized liturgy and the discipline of the Church*, and the *unauthorized devotions and practices of particular persons*. I *insist* upon this preliminary, because it is the constant practice of your controversialists to dress up a hideous

figure, composed of their own misrepresentations, or else of those undefined opinions and unauthorized practices which they call *Popery*; and then to amuse their readers or hearers with exposing the deformity of it and pulling it to pieces. And I have the greater right to insist upon the preliminary, because our creeds and confessions of faith, the councils and all approved expositions and catechisms, containing the principles of our belief and practice, from which no real Catholic, in any part of the world, can ever depart, are before the public and upon constant sale among booksellers.

2dly. It being a notorious fact that certain individual Christians, or bodies of Christians, have departed from the faith and communion of the Church of all nations, under pretence that they had authority for so doing, it is necessary that their alleged authority should be express and incontrovertible. Thus, for example, if texts of scripture are brought for this purpose, it is evidently necessary that such texts should be *clear* in themselves, and *not contrasted* by any other texts seemingly of an opposite meaning. In like manner, when any doctrine or practice appears to be undeniably sanctioned by a father of the Church, for example, of the third or the fourth century, without an appearance of contradiction from any other father, or ecclesiastical writer, it is unreasonable to affirm that he or his contemporaries were the authors of it, as Protestant divines are in the habit of affirming. On the contrary, it is natural to suppose that such father has taken up this, with the other points of his religion, from his predecessors, who received it from the apostles. This is the sentiment of that bright luminary St. Augustin, who says: "Whatever is found to be held by the universal Church, and not to have had its beginning in bishops and councils, must be esteemed a tradition from those by whom the Church was founded." (1)

You judged right in supposing that I have received some letters, containing violent and gross invectives against the Catholic religion. These do not surprise or hurt me, as the writers of them have probably not yet had an opportunity of knowing much more of this religion, than what they could collect from the fifth of November sermons, and others of the same tendency; or from circulated pamphlets expressly calculated to inflame the population against it and its professors. But what truly surprises and afflicts me is, that so many other personages in a more elevated rank of life, whose edu-

(1) Lib. ii. De Bapt.

cation and studies enable them to form a more just idea of the religious and moral principles of their ancestors, benefactors, and founders, in short of their acknowledged fathers and saints, should combine to load these fathers and saints with calumnies and misrepresentations, which they must know to be utterly false. But a bad cause must be supported by bad means. They are unfortunately implicated in a revolt against the true Church: and not having the courage and self-denial to acknowledge their error, and return to her communion, they endeavour to justify their conduct by interposing a black and hideous mask before the fair countenance of their true mother, Christ's spotless spouse. This is so far true, that when, as it often happens, a Protestant is, by dint of argument, forced out of his errors and prejudices against the true religion, if he be pressed to embrace it, and want grace to do it, he is sure to fly back to those very calumnies and misrepresentations, which he had before renounced. The fact is, he must fight with these, or yield unarmed to his Catholic opponent.

That you and your friends may not think me, dear sir, to have complained without just cause of the publications and sermons of the respectable characters I have alluded to, I must inform you that I have now lying before me a volume called *Good Advice to the Pulpits*, consisting of the foulest and most malignant falsehoods against the Catholic religion and its professors, which tongue or pen can express, or the most envenomed heart conceive. It was collected from the sermons and treatises of prelates and dignitaries, by that able and faithful writer, the Rev. John Gother, soon after the gall of calumny's ink had been mixed up with the blood of slaughtered Catholics: a score of whom were executed as traitors, for a pretended plot to murder their friend and proselyte, Charles II; for a plot which was hatched by men, who themselves were soon after convicted of a real *assassination plot* against the king. At that time, the parliaments were so blinded as repeatedly to vote the reality of the plot in question. Hence it is easy to judge with what sort of language the pulpits would resound against the poor devoted Catholics at that period. But without quoting from former periods, I need only refer to a few of the publications of the present day to justify my complaint. To begin with some of the numberless slanders contained in the *No Popery* tract of the bishop of London, Dr. Porteus: he charges Catholics with "senseless idolatry to the infinite scandal of religion;" (1)

(1) Confutation, p. 39. edit. 1796.

with trying "to make the ignorant think that indulgences deliver the dead from hell;" (1) and that by means of "zeal for holy church, the worst man may be secured from future misery;" (2) and the bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Halifax, charges Catholics with "antichristian idolatry;" (3) "the worship of demons, (4) and idol mediators." (5) He, moreover, maintains it to be the doctrine of the church of Rome, that "pardon for every sin, whether committed or designed, may be purchased for money." (6) The bishop of Durham, Dr. Shute Barrington, accuses them of "idolatry, blasphemy, and sacrilege." (7) The bishop of Llandaff, Dr. Watson, impeaches the Catholic priests, martyrologists, and monks without exception, of the "hypocrisy of liars;" (8) and he lays it down as the moral doctrine of Catholics, that "humility, temperance, justice, the love of God and man, are not laws for all Christians, but only councils of perfection." (9) He elsewhere says: "That the Popish religion is the Christian religion, is a false position." (10) He has, moreover, adopted and republished the sentiments of some of his other mitred brethren to the same purpose. One of these asserts, that, "instead of worshipping God through Christ, they (the Catholics) have substituted the doctrine of demons." (11) "They have contrived numberless ways to make a holy life needless, and to assure the most abandoned of salvation without repentance, provided they will sufficiently pay the priest for absolution." (12) "They have consecrated murders, &c." (13) "The Papists stick fast in filthy mire—by the affection they bear to other lusts, which their errors are fitted to gratify." (14) "It is impossible that any sincere person should give an implicit assent to many of their doctrines: but whoever can practice upon them, can be nothing better than a most shamefully debauched and immoral wretch." (15) Another author of later promotion, gives a comprehensive idea of Catholics, where he calls them "enemies of all law, human and divine." (16) If such be the tone of the episcopal bench, it would be vain to expect more moderation from the candidates for it: but I must contract my quotations in order to proceed to more important matter. One of his authors, who,

(1) Confutation, p. 53, edit. 1796. (2) Ibid. p. 55. (3) Warburton's Lectures, p. 191. (4) Ibid. p. 355. (5) Ibid. 358. (6) Ibid. p. 347. (7) Charge, p. 11. (8) Letter II. to Gibbon. (9) Bishop Watson's Tracts, vol. i. (10) Ibid. vol. v. Contents. (11) Benson's Tracts, vol. v. p. 272. (12) Ibid. p. 273. (13) Ibid. p. 282. (14) Bishop Fowler, vol. vi. p. 386. (15) Ibid. 387. (16) Dr. Sparkes, bishop of Ely. *Conscriptio ad Synod.* 1807.

While he was content with an inferior dignity, acted and preached as the friend of Catholics, since he has arrived at the verge of the highest, proclaims "Popery to be idolatry and anti-christianism:" maintaining, as does also the bishop of Durham, it is "the parent of Atheism, and of that antichristian persecution" (in France) of which it was *exclusively* the victim. (1) Another dignitary of the same cathedral, taking up Dr Sparke's calumny, seriously declares that the Catholics are *Antinomians*, (2) which is the distinctive character of the Jumpers, and other rank Calvinists. Finally, the celebrated city preacher, C. De Coetlogon, among similar graces of oratory, pronounces, that Popery is "calculated only for the meridian of hell. To say the best of it that can be said: Popery is a most horrid compound of idolatry, superstition, and blasphemy." (3) "The exercise of Christian virtues is not at all necessary in its members; nay, there are many heinous crimes, which are reckoned virtues among them, such as perjury and murder, when committed against heretics." (4) And is such then, dear sir, the real character of the great body of Christians throughout the world? Is such a true picture of our Saxon and English ancestors? Were such the clergy from whom these modern preachers and writers derive their liturgy, their ritual, their honours and benefices, and from whom they boast of deriving their orders and mission also? But, after all, do these preachers and writers themselves seriously believe such to be the true character of their Catholic countrymen and primitive religion? No, sir, they do not seriously believe it: (5) but being unfortunately engaged, as I said before, in a hereditary revolt against the Church, which

(1) Discourses of Dr. Rennel, Dean of Winchester, p. 140, &c. (2) Charge of Dr. Hook, archdeacon, &c. p. 5, &c. (3) Seasonable Caution against the Abominations of the Church of Rome, Pref. p. 5. (4) Ibid. p. 14. (5) This may be exemplified by the conduct of Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury. Few writers had misrepresented the Catholic religion more foully than he had done in his controversial works: even in his Commentary on the Catechism, he accuses it of *heresy, schism, and idolatry*; but, having entered into a correspondence with Dr. Dupin, for the purpose of uniting their respective churches, he assures the Catholic divine, in his last letter to him, as follows:—"In dogmatibus, prout a te candide proponuntur, non admodum dissentimus: in regimine ecclesiastico minus: in fundamentalibus, sive doctrinam, sive disciplinam spectemus, vix omnino." Append. to Mosheim's Hist. vol. vi. p. 121.—The present writer has been informed on good authority, that one of the bishops, whose calumnies are here quoted, when he found himself on his death-bed, refused the proffered ministry of the primate, and expressed a great wish to die a Catholic. When urged to satisfy his conscience, he exclaimed: *What then will become of my lady and my children!* Certain it is, that

shines forth conspicuous, with every feature of truth in her countenance, and wanting the rare grace of acknowledging their error, at the expense of temporal advantages, they have no other defence for themselves but clamour and calumny. no resource for shrouding those beauteous features of the Church, but by placing before them the hideous mask of misrepresentation!

Before I close this letter, I cannot help expressing an earnest wish, that it were in my power to suggest three most important considerations to all and every one of the theological calumniators I have referred to. I pass over their injustice and cruelty towards us; though this bears some resemblance with the barbarity of Nero towards our predecessors, the first Christians of Rome, who disguised them in the skins of wild beasts, and then hunted them to death with dogs. But Christ has warned us as follows: *It is enough for the disciple to be as his master; if they have called the master of the house Beelzebub: how much more them of his household.* In fact, we know that those our above-mentioned predecessors were charged with worshipping the head of an ass, of killing and eating children, &c.

The first observation which I am desirous of making to these controvertists is, that their charges and invectives against Catholics never unsettle the faith of a single individual amongst us; much less do they cause any Catholic to quit our communion. This we are sure of, because, after all the pains and expenses of the Protestant societies to distribute Dr. Porteus's *Confutation of Popery*, and other tracts, in the houses and cottages of Catholics, not one of them ever comes to us, their pastors, to be furnished with an answer to the accusations contained in them. The truth is, they previously know from their catechisms, the falsehood of them. Sometimes no doubt, a dissolute youth, "from libertinism of

very many Protestants, who had been the most violent in their language and conduct against the Catholic Church, as, for example, John, elector of Saxony, Margaret, queen of Navarre, Cromwell, lord Essex, Dudley earl of Northumberland, king Charles II, the late lords Montague, Nugent, Dnuboyne, Dunsany, &c. did actually reconcile themselves to the Catholic Church in that situation. The writer may add, that another of the calumniators here quoted, being desirous of stifling the suspicion of his having written an anonymous no-Popery publication, when first he took in that cause, privately addressed himself to the writer in these terms: *How can you suspect me of writing against your religion, when you so well know my attachment to it!* In fact, this modern Luther, among other similar concessions, has said thus to the writer: *I sucked in a lore for the Catholic religion with my mother's milk.*

principle and practice," as one of the above-mentioned lords loudly proclaimed of himself on his death-bed; and sometimes an ambitious or avaricious nobleman or gentleman to get honour or wealth; finally, sometimes a profligate priest to get a wife, or a living, forsakes our communion:—but I may challenge Dr. Porteus to produce a single proselyte from Popery throughout the diocese of Chester and London, who has been gained by his book against it; and I may say the same with respect to the bishop of Durham's *No Popery* charges throughout the dioceses of Sarum and Durham.

A second point of still greater importance for the consideration of these distinguished preachers and writers is, that their flagrant misrepresentation of the Catholic religion is constantly an occasion of the conversion of several of their own most upright members to it. Such Christians, when they fall into company with Catholics, or get hold of their books, cannot fail of inquiring whether they are really those monsters of idolatry, irreligion, and immorality, which their divines have represented them to be; when discovering how much they have been deceived in these respects, by misrepresentation; and, in short, viewing now the fair face of the Catholic Church, instead of the hideous mask which had been placed before it, they seldom fail to become enamoured of it, and, in case religion is their chief concern, to become our very best Catholics.

The most important point, however, of all others for the consideration of these learned theologues, is the following: *We must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ*, to be examined on our observance of that commandment, among the rest, *thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour*. Supposing then these their clamorous charges against their Catholic neighbours, of idolatry, blasphemy, perfidy, and thirst of blood, should then appear, as they most certainly will appear, to be calumnies of the worst sort; what will it avail their authors, that these have answered the temporary purpose of preventing the emancipation of Catholics, and of rousing the popular hatred and fury against them!—Alas! what will it avail them!

I am, dear sir, your's, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

ON THE INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

LETTER XXXVI.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—THE first and most heavy charge which Protestants bring against Catholics, is that of idolatry. They say, that the Catholic Church has been guilty of this crime, and of apostasy, by sanctioning the invocation of saints, and the worship of images and pictures; and that on this account they have been obliged to abandon her communion, in obedience to the voice from heaven saying: *Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* Rev. xviii. 4. Nevertheless, it is certain, dear sir, that Protestantism was not founded on this ground either in Germany or in England: for Luther warmly defended the Catholic doctrine in both the aforesaid particulars; and our English reformers, particularly king Edward's uncle, the duke of Somerset, only took up this pretext of idolatry, as the most popular, in order to revolutionize the ancient religion: a measure they were actively carrying on from motives of avarice and ambition. The same reason, namely, a persuasion that this charge of idolatry is best calculated to inflame the ignorant against the Catholic Church, and to furnish a pretext for deserting her, has caused Protestant controvertists to keep up the outcry against her ever since, and to vie with each other in the foulness of their misrepresentation of her doctrine in this particular.

To speak first of the invocation of saints: archbishop Wake, [who afterwards, as we have seen, acknowledged to Dr. Dupin, that there was *no fundamental difference* between his doctrine and that of the Catholics,] in his popular Commentary on the Church Catechism, maintains that, "The church of Rome has other gods besides the Lord." (1) Another prelate, whose work has been lately republished by the bishop of Llandaff, pronounces of Catholics, that, "instead of worshipping Christ they have substituted the doctrine of *demons.*" (2) In the same blasphemous terms, Mede, and a hundred other Protestant controvertists, speak of our communion of saints. The bishop of London, among other such calumnies, charges us with, "bringing back the heathen multitude of deities into Christianity;" that we "recommend ourselves to some favourite saint, not by a religious life, but

(1) Scot. 2—3. (2) Bishop Watson's Theol. T.acts, vol. v. p. 272

by flattering addresses and costly presents, and often depend much more on his intercession, than on our blessed Saviour's;" and that, "being secure of these courtiers of heaven, we pay little regard to the King of it." (1) Such is the misrepresentation of the doctrine and practice of Catholics on this point which the first ecclesiastical characters in the nation publish; because, in fact, their cause has not a leg to stand on, if you take away misrepresentation!

Let us now hear what is the genuine doctrine of the Catholic Church in this article, as solemnly defined by the pope, and near three hundred prelates of different nations, at the council of Trent, in the face of the whole world: it is simply this; that "the saints, reigning with Christ *offer up their prayers to God for men*; that it is *good and useful* suppliantly to invoke them, and have recourse to their *prayers*, help, and assistance, to obtain assistance from God, *through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord*, who is *alone our Redeemer and Saviour*." (2) Hence the Catechism of the Council of Trent, published in virtue of its decree, (3) by order of pope Pius V. teaches, "that God and the saints are not to be prayed to in the same manner; for we pray to God that *he himself would give us good things, and deliver us from evil things*; but we beg of the saints, because they are pleasing to God, that they *would be our advocates, and obtain from God what we stand in need of*." (4) Our first English catechism for the instruction of children, says: "We are to honour saints and angels as God's special friends and servants, but not with the honour which belongs to God." Finally, *The Papist Misrepresented and Represented*, a work of great authority among Catholics, first published by our eminent divine Gother, and republished by our venerable bishop Challoner, pronounces the following anathema against that idolatrous phantom of Catholicity, which Protestant controversialists have held up for the identical Catholic Church: "Cursed is he that believes the saints in heaven to be his redeemers, that prays to them as such, or that gives God's honour to them, or to any creature whatsoever. Amen." . . . "Cursed is every goddess-worshipper, that believes the blessed virgin Mary to be any more than a creature; that worships her, or puts his trust in her more than in God; that believes her above her Son, or that she can in any thing command him. Amen." (5)

(1) Brief Confut. pp. 23, 25. (2) Concil. Trid. Sess. 25. de Invoc.
(3) Sess. 24. de Ref. c. 7. (4) Pars. IV. Quis. orandus. (5) Papist
Misrep. Abridg. v. "8.

You see, dear sir, how widely different the doctrine of Catholics, as defined by our Church, and really held by us, is from the caricature of it, held up by interested preachers and controvertists, to scare and inflame an ignorant multitude. So far from making gods and goddesses of the saints, we firmly hold it to be an article of faith, that, as they have no virtue or excellence, but what has been gratuitously bestowed upon them by God for the sake of his incarnate Son, Jesus Christ, so they can procure no benefit for us but by means of their prayers to the *Giver of all good gifts*, through their and our common Saviour, Jesus Christ. In short, they do nothing for us poor mortals in heaven, but what they did while they were here on earth, and what all good Christians are bound to do for each other; namely, they help us by their prayers. The only difference is, that as the saints in heaven are free from every stain of sin and imperfection, and are confirmed in grace and glory, so their prayers are far more efficacious for obtaining what they ask for, than are the prayers of us imperfect and sinful mortals. Our Protestant brethren will not deny that St. Paul was in the practice of soliciting the prayers of the churches to which he addressed his epistles, *Rom.* xv. 30, &c.; that the Almighty himself commanded the friends of Job to obtain his prayers for the pardon of their sins, *Job*, xlii. 8; and moreover, that they themselves are accustomed to pray publicly for one another. Now these concessions, together with the authorized exposition of our doctrine, laid down above, are abundantly sufficient to refute most of the remaining objections of Protestants against it. In vain, for example, does Dr. Porteus quote the text of St. Paul, 1 Tim. ii. 5, *There is one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus*: for we grant that Christ alone is the *mediator of salvation*. But if he argues from thence, that there is no other *mediator of intercession*, he would condemn the conduct of St. Paul, of Job's friends, and of his own church. In vain does he take advantage of the ambiguous meaning of the word *worship*, in Matt. iv. 10; because if the question be about a *divine adoration*, we restrain this as strictly to God as he can do; but if it be about merely *honouring the saints*, we cannot censure that, without censuring other passages of Scripture, (1) and condemning the bishop himself, who expressly

(1) The word *worship*, in this place, is used for *supreme divine homage*, as appears by the original Greek; whereas in St. Luke, xiv. 10, the English translators make use of it for the *lowest degree of respect*: *Thou shalt have worship in the presence of them that sit at meat with thee*. The latter is the proper meaning of the word *worship*, as appears by the marriage service

says; "he saints in heaven we love and *honour*." In vain does he quote *Rev. xix. 10*, where the angel refused to let St. John prostrate himself and adore him; because, if the mere act itself, independently of the evangelist mistaking him for the Deity, was forbidden, then the three angels, who permitted Abraham to *bow himself to the ground before them*, were guilty of a crime, *Gen. xviii. 2*, as was that other angel, before whom *Joshua fell on his face and worshipped*. *Jos. v. 14*.

The charge of *idolatry* against Catholics. for merely honouring those *whom God honours*, and for desiring them to pray to God for us, is too extravagant to be any longer published by Protestants of learning and character; accordingly, the bishop of Durham is content with accusing us of *blasphemy*, in the latter part of the charge. What he says is this: "It is blasphemy to ascribe to angels and saints, by praying to them, the divine attribute of universal presence." (1) To say nothing of his lordship's new invented blasphemy, I should be glad to ask him, how it follows, from my praying to an angel or a saint in any place where I may be, that I necessarily believe the angel or saint to be in that place? Was Elisha really in Syria when he saw the ambush prepared there for the king of Israel? *2 Kings, vi. 9*. Again: we know that *there is joy before the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth*, *Luke, xv. 10*. Now, is it by visual rays, or undulating sounds, that these blessed spirits in heaven know what passes in the hearts of men upon earth? How does his lordship know that one part of the saint's felicity may not consist in contemplating the wonderful ways of God's providence with all his creatures here on earth? But, without recurring to this supposition, it is sufficient for dissipating the bishop's uncharitable phantom of *blasphemy* and Calvin's profane jest about the length of the saints' ears, that God is able to reveal to them the prayers of Christians who address them here on earth. In case I had the same opportunity of conversing with this prelate, which I once en-

With my body I thee worship, and by the designation of the lowest order of magistrates, his worship Mr. Alderman N. Nevertheless, as the word may be differently interpreted, Catholics abstain from applying it to persons or things inferior to God: making use of the words *honour* and *veneration* in their regard; words which, so applied, even bishop Porteus approves in us. Thus it appears, that the heinous charge of *idolatry* brought against Catholics for their respect towards the saints, is grounded on nothing but the mistaken meaning of a word!

(1) Charge, 1810, p. 12.

joyed, I should not fail to make the following observation to him. My lord, you publicly maintain that the act of praying to saints ascribes to them the divine attribute of *universal presence*; and this you call blasphemy. Now it appears, by the articles and injunctions of your church, that you believe in the existence and efficacy of "sorceries, enchantments, and witchcraft, invented by the devil, to procure his council or help," (1) wherever the conjuror or witch may chance to be; do you, therefore, ascribe the divine attribute of *universal presence* to the devil? You must assert this, or you must withdraw your charge of blasphemy against the Catholics, for praying to the saints.

That it is lawful and profitable to invoke the prayers of the angels, is plain from Jacob's asking and obtaining the angel's blessing, with whom he had mystically wrestled, *Gen. xxxii. 26*, and from his invoking his own angel to bless Joseph's sons, *Gen. xlvii. 16*. The same is also sufficiently plain, with respect to the saints, from the book of Revelation; where the four-and-twenty elders in heaven are said to have *golden viols full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints*. *Rev. v. 8*. The Church, however, derived her doctrine, on this and other points, immediately from the apostles, before any part of the New Testament was written. The tradition was so ancient and universal, that all those eastern churches which broke off from the central church of Rome, a great many ages before Protestantism was heard of, perfectly agree with us in honouring and invoking the angels and saints. I have said that the patriarch of Protestantism, Martin Luther, did not find any thing idolatrous in the doctrine or practice of the Church with respect to the saints. So far from this, he exclaims: "Who can deny that God works great miracles at the tombs of the saints? I therefore, with the whole Catholic Church, hold that the saints are to be honoured and invoked by us." (2) In the same spirit he recommends this devotion to dying persons: "Let no one omit to call upon the blessed virgin and the angels and saints, that they may intercede with God for them at this instant." (3) I may add that several of the brightest lights of the established church, such as archbishop Sheldon and the bishops Blanford, (4) Gunning, (5) Montague, &c. have altogether

(1) Injunctions, A. D. 1559. Bishop Sparrow's Collection, p. 83. Articles, *ibid.* p. 180. (2) In Purg. quorund. Artic. Tom. i. Germet. Ep. ad Georg. Spalat. (3) Luth. Prep. ad Mort. (4) See Duche's of York's Testimony in Brunswick's Fifty Reasons. (5) Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 437.

abandoned the charge of idolatry against Catholics on this head. The last mentioned of them says: "I own that Christ is not wronged in his mediation. It is no impiety to say, as they (the Catholics) do, "*Holy Mary pray for me; Holy Peter pray for me;*" (1) whilst the candid prebendary of Westminster warns his brethren "not to lead people by the nose to believe they can prove Papists to be idolaters when they cannot." (2)

In conclusion, dear sir, you will observe that the council of Trent barely teaches that it is *good and profitable* to invoke the prayers of the saints; hence our divines infer, that there is no positive law of the Church, incumbent on all her children to pray to the saints. (3) Nevertheless, what member of the Catholic Church militant will fail to communicate with his brethren of the Church triumphant? What Catholic, believing in the *communion of saints*, and that "the saints reigning with Christ pray for us, and that it is good and profitable for us to invoke their prayers," will forego this advantage? How sublime and consoling! how animating is the doctrine and practice of true Catholics, compared with the opinions of Protestants! We hold daily and hourly converse, to our unspeakable comfort and advantage, with the angelic choirs, with the venerable patriarchs and prophets of ancient times, with the heroes of Christianity, the blessed apostles and martyrs, and with the bright ornaments of it in later ages, the Bernards, the Xaviers, the Teresas and the Saleses. They are all members of the Catholic Church. Why should not you partake of this advantage? Your soul, you complain, dear sir, is in trouble; you lament that your prayers to God are not heard: continue to pray to him with all the fervour of your soul; but why not engage his friends and courtiers to add the weight of their prayers to your own? Perhaps his divine Majesty may hear the prayers of the Jobs when he will not listen to those of an Eliplaz, a Baldad, or a Zophar. *Job*, xlii. You believe, no doubt, that you have a guardian angel, appointed by God to protect you, conformably to what Christ said of the children presented to him: *Their angels do always behold the face of my Father who is in heaven*, Matt. xviii. 10: address yourself to this blessed spirit with gratitude, veneration and confidence. You believe also that, among the saints of God, there is one of supereminent purity and sanctity, pronounced by an

(1) Treat. of Invoc. of Saints. p. 118. (2) Thorndyke, Just Weights p. 10. (3) Petavius, Suarez, Wallenburg, Muratori, Nat. Ale.

archangel to be not only gracious, but "full of grace;" the chosen instrument of God in the incarnation of his Son, and the intercessor with this her Son, in obtaining his first miracle that of turning water into wine, at a period when his "time" for appearing to the world by miracles, was "not yet come." *John*, iii, 4. "It is impossible," as one of the fathers says, "to love the Son without loving the Mother:" beg then of her, with affection and confidence, to intercede with Jesus, as the poor Canaanites did, to change the tears of your distress into the wine of gladness, by affording you the light and grace you so much want. You cannot refuse to join with me in the angelic salutation: *Hail full of grace, our Lord is with thee*; (1) nor in the subsequent address of the inspired Elizabeth: *Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb*, *Luke*, i. 42.—Cast aside, then, I beseech you, dear sir, prejudices, which are not only groundless but also hurtful, and devoutly conclude with me, in the words of the whole Catholic Church upon earth: *Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our death. Amen.* I am, &c. JOHN MILNER. :

ON RELIGIOUS MEMORIALS.

LETTER XXXVII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—If the Catholic Church has been so grievously injured by the misrepresentation of her doctrine respecting prayers to the saints, she has been still more grievously injured by the prevailing calumnies against the respect which she pays to the memorials of Christ and his saints; namely, to crucifixes, relicks, pious pictures, and images. This has been misrepresented, from almost the first eruption of Protestantism, (2) as rank idolatry, and as justifying the necessity

(1) *Luke*, i. 28. The Catholic version is here used as more conformable to the Greek, as well as the Vulgate, than the Protestant, which renders the passage: *Hail thou who are highly favoured*. (2) Martin Luther, with all his hatred of the Catholic Church, found no idolatry in her doctrine respecting crosses and images: on the contrary, he warmly defended it against Carlostadius and his associates, who had destroyed those in the churches of Wittenberg. *Epist. ad Gasp. Guttal*. In the title pages of his volumes, published by Melancthon, Luther is exhibited on his knees before a crucifix. Queen Elizabeth persisted for many years in retaining a crucifix on the altar of her chapel, till some of her Puritan coun-

of a Reformation. To countenance such misrepresentation, in our own country in particular, avaricious courtiers and grantees seized on the costly shrines, statues, and other ornaments of all the churches and chapels, and authorized the demolition or defacing of all other religious memorials, of whatever nature or materials, not only in places of worship, but also in market places and even in private houses. In support of the same pious fraud, the holy scriptures were corrupted in their different versions and editions, (1) till religious Protestants themselves became disgusted with them, (2) and loudly called for a new translation. This was accordingly made, at the beginning of the first James's reign. In short, every passage in the bible, and every argument which common sense suggests against idolatry, was applied to the decent respect which Catholics shew to the memorials of Christianity.

The misrepresentation in question still continues to be the chosen topic of Protestant controvertists, for inflaming the minds of the ignorant against their Catholic brethren. Accordingly, there is hardly a lisping infant who has not been taught that *the Romanists pray to images*; nor is there a secluded peasant who has not been made to believe that *the Papists worship wooden gods*. The book of Homilies repeatedly affirms that our *images* of Christ and his saints are *idols*; that we "pray and ask of *them* what it belongs to God alone to give;" and that "images have beene and bee worshipped, and so, idolatry committed to them by infinite multitudes to the great offense of God's Majestie, and dan-

tiers engaged Patch, the fool, to break it: "no wiser man," says doctor Heylin. (Hist. of Reform. p. 124.) "daring to undertake such a service." James I. thus reproached the Scotch bishops, when they objected to his placing pictures and statues in his chapel at Edinburgh: "You can endure lions and dragons (*the supporters of the royal arms*) and devils, (Queen Elizabeth's griffins) to be figured in your churches, but will not allow the like place to patriarchs and apostles." Spotswood's History, p. 530.

(1) See in the present English bible, Colos. iii. 5. *Coveteousness which is idolatry*: this in the bibles of 1562, 1577, and 1579, stood thus: *Coveteousness which is the worshipping of images*. In like manner, where we read a *covetous man, who is an idolater*; in the former editions we read: *a covetous man, which is a worshipper of images*. Instead of, *What agreement hath the temple of God with idols*, 2 Cor. vi. 16: it used to stand: *How agreeth the temple of God with images*. Instead of: *Little children keep yourselves from idols*, 1 John, v. 21: it stood during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth; *Babes keep yourselves from images*. There were several other manifest corruptions in this as well as in other points in the ancient Protestant bibles, some of which remain in the present version. (2) See the account of what passed on this subject, at the conference of Hampton-court, in Fuller's and Collier's Church histories, and in Neal's History of the Puritans

ger of infinite soules; that idolatry can not possibly be separated from images set up in churches, and that God's horrible wrath and our most dreadful danger cannot be avoided without the destruction and utter abolition of all such images and idols out of the church and temple of God." (1) Archbishop Secker teaches that "the church of Rome has other gods besides the Lord," and that "there never was greater idolatry among heathens in the business of image-worshipping than in the church of Rome." (2) Bishop Porteus, though he does not charge us with idolatry by name, yet intimates the same thing, where he applies to us one of the strongest passages of scripture against idol worship: *They that make them are like unto them; and so is every one that trusteth in them. O Israel, trust thou in the Lord.* Ps. cxiii. (3)

Let us now hear what the Catholic Church herself has solemnly pronounced on the present subject, in her general council of Trent. She says: "The images of Christ, of the Virgin-Mother of God, and the other saints, are to be kept and retained, particularly in the churches, and due honour and veneration is to be paid them: *not that we believe there is any divinity or power in them*, for which we respect them, or that any thing is to be asked of them, or that trust is to be placed in them, as the heathens of old trusted in their idols." (4) In conformity with this doctrine of our Church, the following question and answer are seen in our first catechism for the instruction of children: "Question: May we pray to relics or images? Answer: No: by no means, for they have no life or sense to hear or help us." Finally, that work of the able Catholic writers Gother and Challoner, which I quoted above, *The Papist Misrepresented and Represented*, contains the following anathema, in which I am confident every Catholic existing will readily join. "Cursed is he that commits idolatry; that prays to images or relics, or worships them for God. Amen."

Dr. Porteus is very positive, that there is no scriptural

(1) Against the Perils of Idol. p. iii. This admonition was quickly carried into effect throughout England. All statues, bas-relievos and crosses were demolished in all the churches, and all pictures were defaced; while they continued to hold their places, as they do still, in the Protestant churches of Germany. At length common sense regained its rights, even in this country. Accordingly we see the cross exalted at the top of its principal church (St. Paul's), which is also ornamented all round with the statues of saints; most of the cathedrals and collegiate churches now contain pictures, and some of them, as, for example, Westminster abbey, carved images. Comment on Church Catech. sect. 24. (3) P. 31.

(4) Sess. xxv.

warrant for retaining and venerating these exterior memorials: and he maintains that no other memorial ought to be admitted than the Lord's supper. (1) Does he remember the ark of the covenant, made by the command of God, together with the punishment of those who profaned it, and the blessing bestowed on those who revered it? And what was the ark of the covenant after all? A chest of settim wood, containing the tables of the law and two golden pots of manna: the whole being covered over by two carved images of cherubim; in short, it was a memorial of God's mercy and bounty to his people. But, says the bishop, "the Roman Catholics make images of Christ and of his saints after their own fancy: before these images, and even that of the cross, they kneel down and prostrate themselves; to these they lift up their eyes, and in that posture they pray." (2) Supposing all this to be true; has the bishop never read that, when the Israelites were smitten at Ai, *Joshua fell to the earth upon his face, before the ark of the Lord, until the even tide, he and the elders of Israel, and Joshua said: Alas, O Lord God, &c.* Jos. vii. 6. Does not he himself oblige those who frequent the above mentioned memorial to kneel and prostrate themselves before it, at which time it is to be supposed they lift up their eyes to the sacrament and say their prayers? Does not he require of his people, that "when the name of JESUS is pronounced in any lesson, &c. due reverence be made of all with lowness of courtesie?" (3) And does he consider as well founded the outcry of idolatry against the established church, on this and the preceding point, raised by the Dissenters? Again, is not his lordship in the habit of kneeling to his majesty, and of bowing, with the other peers, to an empty chair when it is placed as his throne? Does he not often reverently kiss the material substance of printed paper and leather, I mean the bible, because it *relates to*, and *represents*, the sacred word of God? When the bishop of London shall have well considered these several matters, methinks he will better understand, than he seems to do at present, the nature of *relative* honour; by which an *inferior* respect may be paid to the *sign*, for the sake of the *thing signified*; and he will neither directly nor indirectly charge the Catholics with idolatry, on account of *indifferent* ceremonies, which take their nature from the *intention* of those who use them. During the dispute about pious images, which took place in the eighti

(1) Confut. p. 28. (2) Ibid. p. 27. (3) Injunctions, A. D. 1552, n. 52. Canons, 1603, n. 18.

century, St. Stephen of Auxence, having endeavoured in vain to make his persecutor, the emperor Copronimus, conceive the nature of relative honour and dishonour in this matter, threw a piece of money, bearing the emperor's figure, on the ground, and treated it with the utmost indignity; when the latter soon proved, by his treatment of the saint, that the affront regarded *himself*, rather than the piece of metal. (1)

The bishop objects, that the Catholics "make pictures of God the Father under the likeness of a venerable old man." Certain painters indeed have represented him so, as in fact he was pleased to appear so to some of the prophets, *Isa.* vi. 1. *Dan.* vii. 9; but the council of Trent says nothing concerning that representation; which, after all, is not so common as that of a triangle among Protestants, to represent the Trinity. Thus much, however, is most certain, that if any Christian were obstinately to maintain, that the divine nature resembles the human form, he would be condemned as an anthropomorphic heretic. The bishop moreover signifies, what most other Protestant controvertists express more coarsely, that, to screen our *idolatry*, we have suppressed the second commandment of the decalogue, and to make up the deficiency we have split the tenth commandment into two. My answer is, that I apprehended many of these disputants are ignorant enough to believe, that the division of the commandments in their Common Prayer-book was copied, if not from the identical tables of Moses, at least from his original text of the Pentateuch: but the bishop, as a man of learning, must know, that in the original Hebrew, and in the several copies and versions of it, during some thousand of years, there was no mark of separation between one commandment and another; so that we have no rules to be guided by, in making the distinction, but the sense of the context and the authority of the most approved fathers, (2) both which we follow. In the mean time, it is a gross calumny to pretend that we suppress any part of the decalogue; for the whole of it appears in all our most approved catechisms. (3) To be brief: the words *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven thing*, are either a prohibition of *all* images, and, of course, those round the bishop's own cathedral, namely St. Paul; of those likewise that are seen upon all existing coins, which I am sure he will

(1) Fleury, Hist. Ecc. l. xliii. n. 41. (2) St. Augustine, Quæst. in Exod. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. vi. Hieron. in Ps. xxxii. (3) Catech. Roman ad Paroch. Folio Catech. of Montpellier. Douay Catech. Abrid. Christian Doctrine.

not consent to; or else, it is a mere prohibition of images made to receive divine worship, in which we perfectly agree with him. You will observe, dear sir, that among religious memorials I intend to include *relics*; meaning things which have some way appertained to, or been *left* by, personages of eminent sanctity. Indeed the ancient fathers generally call them by that name. Surely Dr. Porteus will not say, that there is no warrant in scripture for honouring these, when he recollects, that *from the body of St. Paul were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs and aprons, and the diseases departed from them*, Acts. xix. 12; and that: *When the dead man was let down and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived and stood on his feet*. 2 Kings. xiii. 21.

But to make an end of the present discussion; nothing, but the pressing want of a strong pretext for breaking communion with the ancient Church, could have put the revolvers from it upon so extravagant an attempt, as that of confounding the inferior and relative honour which Catholics pay to the memorials of Christ and his saints (an honour which they themselves pay to the bible-book, to the name of JESUS, and even to the king's throne) with the idolatry of the Israelites to their golden calf, *Exod.* xxxii. 4, and of the ancient heathens to their idols, which they believed to be inhabited by their gods. In a word, the end for which pious pictures and images are made and retained by Catholics, is the same for which pictures and images are made and retained by mankind in general, to put us in mind of the persons and things they represent. They are not primarily intended for the purpose of being venerated: nevertheless, as they bear a certain relation with holy persons and things, by representing them, they become entitled to a *relative* or *secondary* veneration, in the manner already explained. I must not forget one important use of pious pictures mentioned by the holy fathers, namely, that they help to instruct the ignorant. (1) Still, it is a point agreed upon among Catholic doctors and divines, that the memorials of religion form no essential part of it. (2) Hence if you should become a Catholic, as I pray God you may, I shall never ask

(1) St. Gregory calls pictures *Idiotarum libri*. Epist. l. ix. 9. (2) The learned Petavius says: "We must lay it down as a principle that images are to be reckoned among the *adiaphora*, which do not belong to the substance of religion, and which the Church may retain or take away as she judges best." l. xv. de Incar. Hence Dr. Hawarden, of Images, p. 353, teaches, with Delphinus, that, if, in any place, there is danger of real idolatry or superstition from pictures, they ought to be removed by the pastor; as Epiphanius destroyed a certain pious picture, and an Ezechias destroyed the brazen serpent.

you, if you have a pious picture or relic, or so much as a crucifix in your possession: but then, I trust, after the declarations I have made, that you will not account me an idolater, should you see such thing in my oratory or study, or should you observe how tenacious I am of my crucifix in particular. Your faith and devotion may not stand in need of such memorials: but mine, alas! do. I am too apt to forget what my Saviour has done and suffered for me; but the sight of his representation often brings this to my memory, and affects my best sentiments. Hence I would rather part with most of the books in my library, than with the figure of my crucified Lord.

I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER XXXVIII.—To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M.A.

REV. SIR,—I LEARN by a letter from our worthy friend Mr. Brown, as well as by your own, that I am to consider you, and not him, as the person charged to make the objections, which are to be made, on the part of the church of England, against my theological positions and arguments in future. I congratulate the society of New Cottage, on the acquisition of so valuable a member as Mr. Clayton, and I think myself fortunate in having to contend with an opponent so clear-headed and candid as his letter shews him to be.

You admit that, according to my explanation, which is no other than that of our divines, our catechisms, and our councils in general, we are not guilty of idolatry in the honour we pay to saints and their memorials, and that the dispute between your church and mine upon these points, is a dispute about words rather than about things, as bishop Bossuet observes, and as several candid Protestants, before you, have confessed. You and bishop Porteus agree with us, that "the saints are to be loved and honoured;" on the other hand, we agree with you, that it would be idolatrous to pay them *divine worship*, or to *pray to their memorials* in any shape whatever. Hence, the only question remaining between us is concerning the *utility* of desiring the prayers of the saints: for you say it is useless, because you think that they hear us, and that, therefore, the practice is superstitious: whereas I have vindicated the practice itself, and have shewn

that the utility of it no way depends on the circumstance of the blessed spirits immediately hearing the addresses made to them.

Still you complain that I have not answered *all* the bishop's objections against the doctrine and practices in question. My reply is, that I have answered the chief of them: and whereas they are, for the most part of ancient date, and been again and again solidly refuted by our divines, I shall send to New Cottage, together with this letter, a work of one of them, who, for depth of learning and strength of argument, has not been surpassed since the time of Bellarmin. (1) There, reverend sir, you will find all that you inquire after, and you will discover, in particular, that the *worship of the angels*, which St. Paul condemns, in his epistle to the Colossians, chap. ii. 18, means that of the fallen or *wicked angels*, whom Christ *despoiled*, ver. 15, and which was paid to them by Simon the magician and his followers as the makers of the world. As to the doctrine of Bellarmin concerning images, it is plain that his lordship never consulted the author himself, but only his misrepresenter Vtringa; otherwise, he would have gathered from the whole of this strict theologian's distinctions, that he teaches precisely the contrary to that which he is represented to teach. (2)

You next observe that I have said nothing concerning the extravagant forms of prayer to the Blessed Virgin and other saints, which Dr. Porteus has collected from Catholic prayer books, and which, you think, prove that we attribute an absolute and unbounded power to these heavenly citizens. I am aware, reverend sir, that his lordship, as well as another bishop, (3) who is all sweetness of temper, except when Popery is mentioned in his hearing, and indeed a crowd of other Protestant writers, has employed himself in making such collections, but from what sources for the greater part I am ignorant. If I were to charge his faith, or the faith of his church, with all the conclusions that could logically be drawn, from different forms of prayer to be met with in the books of her most distinguished prelates and divines, or from the scriptures themselves, I fancy the bishop would strongly protest against that mode of reasoning. If, for example, an anthropo-

(1) The True Church of Christ, by Edward Hawarden, D.D. S. T. P. The author was engaged in successful contests with Dr. Clark, bishop Bull, Mr. Leslie, and other eminent Protestant divines. (2) See *de Imag.* l. ii. c. 24. (3) The bishop of Hereford, Dr. Huntingford, who has squeezed a large quantity of this irrelevant matter into his *Examination of the Catholic Petition*.

morphite were to address him: You say, my lord, in your creed, that Christ "ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God," therefore it is plain you believe with me, that God has a human shape; or if a Calvinist were to say it, him: You pray to God that he "would not lead you into temptation," therefore you acknowledge that it is God who tempts you to commit sin: in either of these cases the bishop would insist upon explaining the texts here quoted; he would argue on the nature of figures of speech, especially in the language of poetry and devotion; and would maintain, that the belief of his church is not to be collected from these, but from her defined articles. Make but the same allowance to Catholics and all this phantom of verbal idolatry will dissolve into air.

Lastly, you remind me of the bishop's assertion, that "neither images nor pictures were allowed in churches for the first hundred years." To this assertion you add your own opinion, that during that same period, no prayers were addressed by Christians to the saints. A fit of oblivion must have overtaken Dr. Porteus, when he wrote what you have quoted from him, as he could not be ignorant, that it was not till the conversion of Constantine, in the fourth century, that the Christians were generally allowed to build churches for their worship, having been obliged, during the ages of persecution, to practice it in subterraneous catacombs, or other obscure recesses. We learn, however, from Tertullian, that it was usual in his time, the second century, to represent our Saviour in the character of *the good Shepherd* on the chalices used at the assemblies of the Christians: (1) and we are informed by Ensebius, the father of church-history, and the friend of Constantine, that he himself had seen a miraculous image of our Saviour in brass, which had been erected by the woman who was cured by touching the hem of his garment; and also different pictures of him, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, which had been preserved since their time. (2) The historian Zozomen adds, concerning that statue, that it was mutilated in the reign of Julian the apostate, and that the Christians, nevertheless, collected the pieces of it, and placed it in their church. (3) St. Gregory of Nyssa, who flourished in the fourth century, preaching on the martyrdom of St. Theodore, describes his relics as being present in the church, and his sufferings as being painted on the walls, together with an

(1) Lib. de Pudicitia, c. 10.
Eccles. l. v. c. 21.

(2) Hist. l. vii. c. 18.

(3) Hist.

image of Christ, as if surveying them. (1) It is needless to carry the history of pious figures and paintings down to the end of the sixth century, at which time St. Augustin and his companions, coming to preach the gospel to our pagan ancestors, "carried a silver cross before them as a banner, and a painted picture of our Saviour Christ." (2) The above-mentioned Tertullian testifies, that, at every movement and at every employment, the primitive Christians used to sign their foreheads with the sign of the cross; (3) and Eusebius and St. Chrysostom fill whole pages of their works with testimonies of the veneration in which the figure of the cross was anciently held; the latter of whom expressly says, that the cross was placed on the altars (4) of the churches. The whole history of the martyrs, from St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, the disciples of the apostles, whose relics, after their execution, were carried away by the Christians, as "more valuable than gold and precious stones," (5) down to the latest martyr, incontestably proves the veneration which the Church has ever entertained for these sacred objects. With respect to your own opinion, reverend sir, as to the earliest date of prayers to the saints, I may refer you to the writings of St. Irenæus, the disciple of St. Polycarp, who introduces the Blessed Virgin praying for Eve; (6) to the apology of his contemporary St. Justin-the martyr, who says: "We venerate and worship the angelic host, and the spirits of the prophets, teaching others as we ourselves have been taught;" (7) and to the light of the fourth century, St. Basil, who expressly refers these practices to the apostles, where he says: "I invoke the apostles, prophets, and martyrs to pray for me, that God may be merciful to me, and forgive me my sins. I honour and reverence their images, since these things have been ordained *by tradition from the apostles, and are practised in all our churches.*" (8) You will agree with me, that I need not go down lower than the fourth age of the Church to prove her *devotion for the saints.*

I am, dear sir, &c

JOHN MILNER.

(1) Ornt. in Theod. (2) Bede's Eccles. Hist. l. i. c. 25. (3) Deo Coron. Milit. c. 3. (4) In Orat. Quod Christus sit Deus. (5) Euseb. Hist. l. iv. c. 15. Acta Sincer. apud Ruinart. (6) Contra Hæres. l. v. c. 19. (7) Apol. 9. prope Init. (8) Epist. 205. t. iii. edit. Paris. (9) Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, sect. xvi.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER XXXIX.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—IN reading this and the following letter, in reply to the objections of the Rev. Mr. Grier, it will be proper you should refresh your memory with another perusal of the 36th and 37th letters. It is plain that the objector is weary of his task, as he becomes still more negligent and confused as he advances. He passes by unnoticed the strongest scriptural evidence, the most positive testimonies of the fathers, and the most indisputable axioms of natural reason, to misspend his time and ink on a few points of no essential consequence to the main questions at issue. His principal arguments are drawn from the two extravagant and time-serving books of homilies; (1) the former composed by Cranmer, the latter, as is generally supposed, by Jewel, whose respective characters you have before seen. These books never had any authority, even among Protestants, being like an upper garment, or great-coat, says Dr. Fuller, which men put on or throw off at their pleasure.

The first question at issue between the Rev. Vicar and myself, is the following one: Is he warranted in pronouncing, as he does, that, "*the invocation of saints is blasphemous and idolatrous?*" In refutation of this heinous charge against Catholics, as made by other writers and preachers before him, I proved, in the 36th letter, by express quotations from the general council of Trent, from the large catechism of that council, and from the elementary catechism for the instruction of Catholic children, that it is "an article of Catholic faith, that, as the saints have no virtue, merit, or excellence, but what

(1) The following extracts may serve as samples of their moderation and truth. "Laity and clergie, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children of whole Christendome (a horrible and dreadful thing to think) have been, all at once, drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God, and most damnable to man, and that by the space of 800 years and more." *Perils of Idol.* P. iii. p. 58.—Speaking of the crying injustice, cruelty, and sacrileges of the tyrant Henry VIII. in seizing and turning to his own profit all the abbeys and convents in the kingdom, to the number of above a thousand, and leaving their unoffending inhabitants to starve, the unprincipled Cranmer, in his *Homily on Good Works*, P. iii. p. 38, ascribes all this to *an inspiration of God*, and compares the unfeeling and sensual monster, who, as Sir Walter Raleigh says, "never spared man in his wrath nor woman in his lust," with the holy kings of Israel, Josaphat, Josias, and Ezechias.

has been gratuitously bestowed upon them by God, for the sake of his incarnate Son, Jesus Christ, so they can procure no benefit for us, but by means of their prayers to *the Giver of all good gifts*, through their and our common Saviour Christ. In short, I proved that Catholics invoke the intercession and prayers of the saints in heaven, in no other way than they invoke the intercession of their fellow Christians here upon earth. If the former is blasphemous and idolatrous, the latter is blasphemous and idolatrous also. If the latter is innocent and pious, the former is innocent and pious also. In further proof of this being the unfeigned belief of Catholics on the subject in question, I cited an anathema from one of our most populous works of controversy, in repeating which I averred, that every Catholic in the kingdom will at all times readily join me. This says: "Cursed is he who believes the saints to be his redeemers, who prays to them as such, or who gives to them the honour that belongs to God." (1) By way of shewing from scripture that God permits and encourages us to invoke the prayers of his chosen servants, in addition to our own prayers, I cited Jacob's entreating and obtaining the blessing of an angel with whom he mystically strove; (2) his calling upon his own angel to bless Joseph's two sons; (3) and God's command to Job's unfaithful friends, to engage that holy patriarch to pray for them, the Almighty declaring: *His face I will accept, that your folly be not imputed to you.* (4)

Such, but in a greater detail, were the arguments with which I repelled the less injurious charges of Dr. Porteus, against the Catholic doctrine and practice of praying to the saints; which, in case they are conclusive, the vicar's weightier charges of *blasphemy* and *idolatry* against it must be foul and irreligious calumnies: on the other hand, if they are not conclusive, it was evidently his business to prove this, by shewing that I had not given a true exposition of the Catholic doctrine, or that this doctrine, even thus explained, is still blasphemous and idolatrous. Instead, however, of attempting any thing of this nature, he flies off, at the beginning, to a point of quite a secondary nature, and which no way affects the one that he professes to prove. In fact, sir, if the council of Trent, instead of leaving the faithful, as I shewed to be the case, to their own devotion in this matter, had commanded

(1) *Papist Mis-represented and Represented* by the Rev. J. Gother, abridged by Bishop Challoner. (2) Gen. xxxii. 36. (3) *Ibid.* xlvii. 16
(4) Job. xlii. 8.

them, under pain of anathema, to pray to the saints every day of their lives, this would not help him forward in his undertaking of demonstrating that the practice itself is *blasphemous* and *idolatrous*. In the mean time, the council speaks for itself, where, instead of declaring that it is *necessary to invoke the prayers of the saints*, it confines itself to saying that it is *good and profitable so to do*. But let us hear the vicar out on this his favourite topic. His words are these: "Invocation is said to be more than simply *good and profitable*: it is profitable, according to Dr. Milner's gloss, to have recourse to their prayers, help, and assistance, and it is further profitable to obtain favours from God, through his Son Jesus Christ; that is, the invocation of saints is profitable to bring about man's salvation! Now if this be not making it an article of faith, and a positive law of the Church, I cannot see what an article of faith means." In reading over a second time attentively this chaos of words, the only sense I can extract from them is this: that, *Dr. M. having asserted that the invocation of saints is profitable to bring about man's salvation, he thereby makes it an article of faith* (which is downright nonsense), and likewise that *it is a positive law of the Church*, which is clearly false. Thus, for example, I say that subscribing money to Middlesex Hospital is profitable to salvation, but in saying this I do not create *an article of faith*, nor do I lay down *a positive law of the Church*! The vicar proceeds in his vain attempt to throw a mist round the transparent decree of the council, and of the enlarged *catechism for pastors*: their language is clear: his is unintelligible. Speaking next of the English catechism, which he calls "milder than the Pope's catechism," he says: "It is not from the public formularies of the Church of Rome that we derive the justest notions of its doctrines, but from its daily practice and its general observances." What the vicar means is, that to learn the doctrine of the Catholic Church, her collects in the Missal and other prayers are to be consulted, in preference to her creeds, to the definitions of her councils, and to her catechisms and books of instruction. This is contrary to common sense and practice, as in our general language, and even in our prayers, we often make use of expressions that require explanation to make them true and accurate, whereas, in formal expositions of our belief, we declare it in the clearest terms we can find. To illustrate this, I showed that Protestants, no less than Catholics, are obliged to have recourse to an explanation of the petition in the Lord's prayer, *Lead us not into temptation*: and to

another of the articles in the Apostles' creed, *He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.*

To say a few words now of the collects in the Roman Missal, which the vicar so foully garbles and misrepresents: it is a downright falsehood that these "rest the hope of our salvation on the merits and intercession of the saints, rather than on the merits and mediation of Christ; for there is not one of these collects, which is addressed to any angel or saint, or that asks of God for any benefit or favour, for the sake of the prayers and good works of any angel or saint, except "*through his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns with the Father, in the Unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end.*" This the vicar knows full well to be true, as well with respect to the collects for the festivals of St. Patrick and St. Thomas, which he singles out, as of the other saints. (1) The vicar proceeds in his own style of illogical argumentation: "Would a saint be addressed in prayer, if he were thought to be unable to give that assistance for which he was asked? We fairly answer *No.*" Now I answer, *yes*; very likely he might, in case the petitioner thought that the saint could *obtain it* for him by his prayers to God. He goes on: "Our homilies therefore say that it is in *this faith* in which the *blasphemy* of such *invocation* consists." I answer, that whatever falsehood or impiety is contained in the homilies, their authors, Cranmer and Jewel, had too much sense to say that *blasphemy consists in any faith or belief* whatsoever. It is really irksome to be obliged to argue with such a disputant. But the vicar has one more argument, and this is his capital argument, for proving that Catholics in general, and myself by name, are guilty of idolatry. It stands thus: "If, as the above mentioned homily says, invocation be a thing *proper to God*, it must be absolute idolatry, however explained or recommended by the Trent-canon, to give to the creature that honour which is only due to the Creator, &c." I must again vindicate the homilies from the nonsense which the vicar ascribes to them: *invocation* is not a thing *proper to God*; it rather

(1) The following are the collects in the Roman Missal, on the festivals of the two saints in question. "O God, who wast pleased to send blessed Patrick, thy confessor and bishop, to preach thy glory to the Gentiles: grant, by his merits and prayers, that we may, through THY grace, be enabled to keep thy commandments. *Through our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.*" "O God, for whose Church the glorious pontiff, Thomas, fell by the swords of the impious, grant, we beseech thee, that all who implore his assistance, may obtain the salutary effect of their petition. "*our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.*

belongs to man: and when it is employed by man, it does not constitute idolatry, unless it be addressed to some created being, to *bestow as from himself* those benefits which God alone can bestow. Invocation addressed to an angel or a man is no idolatry, when the object of it is barely to beg of him to pray to God for us. The vicar is a grammarian, if he be not a logician nor a divine, and therefore he ought to know that to *invoke*, signifies nothing more than to *call upon*, and by no means implies that the person invoked is possessed of the attributes of God, or even that he is possessed of any independent power whatsoever.

Having vindicated certain parts of the church of England homilies from the vicar's mistaken defence of them, I have now to render the same service to some of her canons and injunctions, which he has equally misapprehended. This defence is unavoidably connected with the defence of myself from a gross charge which he has brought against me. The case is this. The good old bishop of Durham, experiencing the same distress that the vicar feels to make out his charge of blasphemy against the Catholics, on account of their begging their deceased friends to render them in heaven the service they were accustomed to perform on earth, that of praying for them, bethought himself of the following new medium or argument for the purpose. He says: "It is blasphemy to ascribe to angels and saints, by praying to them, the divine attribute of *universal presence*." (1) The inconclusiveness of this argument I shewed in the following short address to him: "You, my lord, believe, conformably with the laws of the state, (2) and the injunctions of your own church; (3) in the existence of sorceries, enchantment, and witchcraft, invented by the devil to procure his counsel or help, wheresoever the conjurer or witch may happen to be: do you therefore ascribe the divine attribute of universal presence to the devil? You must assent to this, or else you must withdraw your charge of blasphemy against the Catholics, by reason of their invoking the prayers of the saints wheresoever they themselves are upon earth." The parity is exact, and the conclusion inevitable: but the vicar, from a confusion of ideas, mistaking the *belief* of sorcery for the *approval* of it, exclaims as follows: "How Dr. M. could find nerve to bring forward

(1) Charge, 1810, p. 12. (2) 5 Eliz. cap. 1. 1 Jac. c. 12. Blackstone says, "though the penalty of death against witchcraft is abolished, it is deservedly punished with imprisonment and the pillory." B. iv. c. 4. (3) Injunct. A.D. 1559. B. Sparrow's Collect. p. 89. Art. Ibid. p. 180.

those documents (articles and injunctions of 1559, &c) in proof that our Church believe in the efficacy of sorceries and the like, is more than I am able to account for." The truth, sir, is, that however I am convinced of this church having been led astray by the politics of Edward and Elizabeth, I have not nerve enough to deny that she believes in the sorcery of the witch of Endor, and the other sorceries mentioned in the Old and New Testament, or to assert that without believing in their existence she has contributed to the framing and execution of so many injunctions and penal laws against them, as she has done to a very unwise and unjustifiable extent. (1)

I am, dear sir, your's, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

LETTER XL.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—The vicar finds fault with the title of the 37th letter. I adopt it because it applies to all the subjects I have here to treat of, pious pictures, statues, crucifixes, emblems and relics; and because it expresses the object and nature of the respect that we Catholics pay to them. We venerate them in as much as they represent or bring to our remembrance the holy persons or things they relate to, not for any excellence they have of themselves. In short, we do not make and retain these objects, according to the calumny of our opponents, *for the purpose of venerating them* as the heathens did their idols, but we venerate them *because they are memorials of the persons and things they relate to*. This you will bear in mind, as likewise the necessity to which the vicar and his fellow polemics are reduced of finding pretences

(1) It is presumed that few persons will acquit of a very large share in this charge, "the learned, venerated, and authorized organ of the English church" as the bishop of St. David's, in his *Grand Schism*, p. 10, calls Jewel. This prelate, in a sermon before queen Elizabeth, thus addresses her: "It may please your grace to understand that witches and sorcerers have wonderfully increased. These eyes have seen most evidently marks of their wickedness. Your grace's subjects pine away even unto death; their colour fadeth; their flesh rotteth; their speech be removed, and their senses bereft. Wherefore your poor subjects petition that the laws touching such malefactors may be put in due execution for the horrible doings." In the ensuing parliament an act passed making witchcraft felony, and great numbers suffered death upon it in this and the following reign. In the year 1612, as many as nineteen persons were arraigned upon it, in the single county of Lancaster, of whom ten were condemned to death.

for their unhappy departure and continued separation from the true Church; none of which is so plausible and popular as that of Pagan idolatry, with which they charge her. Hence the vociferous declamation of preachers against *wooden gods*, and the inexhaustible sophistry of controversialists about the *worship of images*.

In refutation of the abovementioned calumnious and impious charge, I produced, as I likewise did in my last letter, the high and definitive authority of our general council of Trent, which declares that, "though the images of Christ, the Virgin Mother of God, and the other saints are to be kept and retained, particularly in churches, and due honour and veneration paid to them, yet that we are not to believe there is any divinity or power in them, for which we respect them, or that any thing is to be asked of them, or that trust is to be placed in them, as the heathens of old trusted in their idols." To the same intent I produced our first or elementary catechism, which treats this subject as follows: "*Question*. Does this commandment forbid the making of images? *Answer*. It forbids the making them, so as to adore or serve them: that is, it forbids making them our gods. *Question*. May we pray to relics or images? *Answer*. No, by no means; for they have no life nor sense to hear or help us." Lastly, I quoted the emphatical anathemas of our abovementioned celebrated work, *The Papist Misrepresented*, &c. in pronouncing which, I pledged myself that every Catholic will join: "Cursed is he that commits idolatry, that prays to images or relics, or worships them for God." And, whereas bishop Porteus had denied that the scriptures allow any exterior respect whatever to be paid to such memorials, I referred to the veneration paid by God's faithful servants, and under his sanction to the ark of the covenant, namely, a chest of settim wood, containing two pots of manna and the tables of the law, and being surmounted with the carved figures of two cherubim. Before this memorial the faithful Joshua and the elders of Israel prostrated themselves in prayer to God on their defeat at Ai: (1) for looking profanely into this, the Bethamites were severely chastised by God; (2) and for his fidelity in guarding this Obodedom was richly rewarded by him. (3) Surely these instances which I referred to are sufficient, without mentioning others, to shew that the scriptures do allow and sanction an exterior respect to religious memorials. With respect to relics in particular, I mentioned

(1) Jos. vii. 6. (2) 1 Kings, alias Sam. vi. 19. (3) 2 Kings, vi. 12.

the revival of the dead body, related in the fourth book of Kings, (1) by its touching the remains of the prophet Elisha, and the miracles wrought by means of handkerchiefs and aprons which St. Paul had sanctified. (2) All these scriptural proofs I fortified abundantly from the writings and the practice of the holy fathers and primitive Christians.

It might be expected from my reverend opponent, that, having undertaken to give A REPLY to my letters, he would have questioned the fidelity of that exculpatory evidence, which I drew from the decree of our general council and the other documents, and from the testimony of the fathers, but especially from the holy scriptures; or, at least, that he would have attempted to explain it away: but no, he takes no notice whatever of all this, just as if it were nothing at all to the purpose; but whereas I accidentally mentioned in a note that queen Elizabeth persisted, during many years, in retaining "a crucifix on the altar of her chapel, till some of her puritan courtiers engaged Patch, the fool, to break it; no wise man, says Dr. Heylin, daring to undertake such a service;" the vicar flies off from his proper task to take up this matter, where he reproaches the queen for not having carried on the business of the Reformation as far as he wished it to have been carried. In fact he bewails "the influence of Popish prejudices on her mind, and that she had not proceeded on those pure principles of Christianity, by which the conduct of the pious and enlightened Edward had been regulated; (3) namely, *the boy Edward*, whose scholastic exercises consisted in translating into French corrupted passages of the bible concerning images and idolatry, to amuse his infant mind, while his insatiable uncle Somerset swept away all the ornaments and utensils of religion, under pretext that they were devoted to pagan idolatry!

(1) 4 Kings, xiii. 20. (2) Acts, xix. 12. (3) Having mentioned, in my *Inquiry into Vulgar Opinions concerning Ireland*, that I had seen fragments of the true cross of Christ, the vicar impiously calls it "the accursed instrument of our Saviour's sufferings," and in opposition to the express testimony of St. Cyril, St. Paulinus, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, and several other fathers, on the bare credit of his, the vicar's word, denies that the cross was discovered by the empress Helen. On this occasion he compliments his countrymen and the present writer with the following flower of speech: "The poor credulous Irish, who have ever been the dupes of juggling impostors, will swallow all his lying wonders as undoubted facts; reported as they are by the accredited agent of their hierarchy, a vicar apostolic, a bishop of Castabala *ipse*!" Answer to *Ward's Errata*, by the Rev. Richard Grier, A.M. Master of Middleton School, p. 64.

But, says the vicar, "our church is not silent about the consequences of permitting images to remain in places of worship. The homily, we quoted, says that idolatry cannot possibly be separated from images any long time, but that, as an inseparable accident, or as a shadow followeth the body, when the sun shineth, so idolatry followeth the public having of images in the temple." And yet the vicar himself has told us in a preceding passage that, "as far as Protestants are concerned, they (the images) may remain in harmless repose in their niches:" and not to mention that not only in the Lutheran churches abroad, but also in our cathedral and other churches at home, images of all sorts, angels, saints, animals, and even Pagan deities, are to be seen in great numbers, without imputation or danger of idolatry. But, to speak more directly to the present point; of what weight, I require to know, are these printed harangues of Cranmer and Jewel, to prove that I adore stocks and stones, instead of the living God, when my faith and my conscience prove to me the contrary?

In arguing with bishop Porteus, who had brought a very insufficient argument to convict Catholics of idolatry, I stated that Protestants of the establishment are accustomed to kneel to the sacrament, to worship the name of JESUS, to bow to the empty throne, and to kiss the material part, that is, the paper and leather, of the holy scriptures; this I stated by way of illustration, not by way of reproach, since Catholics are in the habit of doing the very same things: when lo! the vicar falls foul of me, for having, as he alleges, "furnished grounds for the outcry of the dissenters, on the score of idolatry against the established church." The remainder of the vicar's letter relates to the manner of dividing the commandments. He pretends that our method was invented to screen our practice of idolatry with respect to images: we answer, that we follow the method of our predecessors in this respect, several centuries before the Calvinists and even the Iconoclasts raised any disturbances on the subject of images, as appears from St. Augustin, St. Jerom, &c. (1) and that, as there is no division or distinction of commandments, nor even of verses or chapters, in the early manuscripts of the sacred text, we have no rule to be guided by in this respect, but the sense of it and ancient custom. Now, as the first commandment, however long and varied it is, in consequence of the proneness of the Jews to idolatry, commands but one

(1) Aug. Quest. in Exod. Hieron in Ps. 32.

thing, namely, the service of the true God, and forbids but one thing, namely, the service of any false god, we naturally make but one commandment of it. On the other hand, as the Almighty was pleased to prohibit exterior and interior sins, in the same kind, by distinct commandments, so we naturally distinguish impure and avaricious desires by separate prohibitions. It may be added, that Cranmer himself, in his catechism, divided the commandments as the Catholics do. (1) But, to give the vicar his own way for a short time, and to admit that the prohibition, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven thing*, forms a distinct commandment from the foregoing prohibition: *Thou shalt not have strange gods before me*; I should like to question him, what sense, injurious to the Catholic belief and practice, he can extract from the former prohibition? Does it forbid the making of images and representations altogether? If so, then we must throw our money out of our pockets, and treat the king's figure disgracefully, as I mentioned a holy man did that of Coproninus to convince him of his error. Does it forbid the making of pious figures and representations in particular? If so, then Moses was the first to transgress the law, and this by the command of God, given to him in making two carved cherubim to spread their wings over the ark of the covenant, (2) whose example was followed by Solomon in several instances. (3) What then was actually forbidden by those words: *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven thing*, &c. The text itself immediately informs us, namely, *Thou shalt not adore them nor serve them*. But I have clearly proved that the Catholic Church condemns and anathematizes this practice, and every degree of it, as expressly and as strongly as the vicar himself can do. The vicar being thus proved to be utterly destitute of arguments to support this his uncharitable and calumnious charge against the great majority of his fellow-Christians as well as his countrymen, or to offer one plausible objection to the exculpatory evidence produced on their behalf, it is not too much to say that he himself does not believe in it. When the duke of York, who was afterwards king James II. asked the archbishop of Canterbury, Sheldon: "If it is the doctrine of the church of England that *Roman Catholics are idolaters*, he answered him, *It is not*; but, said he: *Young men of parts will be popular, and such a charge is the way to it.*" (4) There are, however, other in-

(1) Burnet's Hist. Ref. P. ii. p. 51. (2) Exod. xxv. 18. (3) 3, alias 4 Kings, vi. 23, &c. (4) Burnet's Hist. of his Own Times, vol. 1. p. 358.

ducements besides vanity to influence clergymen, old as well as young, to belie the doctrines of their church, and the dictates of their consciences. But, what a vile hypocrisy is this! And what answer will they make before the assembled universe, when they will be arraigned on the breach of a commandment, which admits of no division, nor exception, nor qualification at all, namely, **THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOUR?** To prevent this overwhelming confusion surprising him, let the vicar attend to the advice of the learned and candid prebendary of Westminster, who warns his brethren: "Not to lead people by the nose, to believe they can prove Papists to be idolaters when they cannot." (1) I am, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

ON TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

LETTER XLII.—To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M.A.

DEAR SIR,—It is the remark of the prince of modern controvertists, bishop Bossuet, that, whereas in most other subjects in dispute between Catholics and Protestants, the difference is less than it seems to be, in this of the holy Eucharist or Lord's supper it is greater than it appears. (2) The cause of this is, that our opponents misrepresent our doctrine concerning the veneration of saints, pious images, indulgences, purgatory, and other articles, in order to strengthen their arguments against us; whereas their language approaches nearer to our doctrine than their sentiments do on the subject of the eucharist, because our *doctrine* is so strictly conformable to the *words of the holy scripture*. This is a disingenuous artifice; but I have to describe two others of a still more fatal tendency: first, with respect to the present welfare of the Catholics, who are the subjects of them; and secondly, with respect to the future welfare of the Protestants, who deliberately make use of them.

The first of these disingenuous practices consists in misrepresenting Catholics as *worshippers of bread and wine* in the sacrament, and therefore as *idolaters*, at the same time.

(1) Thorndyke. Just Weights and Measures.

(2) Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, Sect. xvi.

that our adversaries are perfectly aware that we firmly believe, as an article of faith, that *there is no bread and wine*, but Christ alone, true God as well as man, present in it. Admitting, for a moment, that we are mistaken in our belief, the worst we could be charged with is an error in supposing Christ to be where he is not; and nothing but uncharitable calumny, or gross inattention, could accuse us of the heinous crime of idolatry. To illustrate this argument, let me suppose, that, being charged with a loyal address to the sovereign, you presented it, by mistake, to one of his courtiers, or even to an inanimate figure of him, which, for some reason or other, had been dressed up in royal robes, and placed on the throne; would your heart reproach you, or would any sensible person reproach you, with the guilt of treason in this case? Were the people who thought that John the Baptist was the Christ, *Luke*, iii. 15, and who probably worshipped him as such, idolaters in consequence of their error? The falsehood, as well as the uncharitableness of this calumny, is too gross to escape the observation of any informed and reflecting man; yet, in order to keep alive their prejudice against us, it is upheld and vociferated to the ignorant crowd by bishop Porteus, (1) and the Protestant preachers and writers in general; while it is perpetuated by the legislature, for the purpose of defeating our civil claims! (2) It is not, however, true, that all Protestant divines have laid this heavy charge at the door of Catholics, for worshipping Christ in the sacrament; as all those eminent prelates in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II. must be excepted, who generally acquitted us of the charge of idolatry, and more especially the learned Gunning, bishop of Ely, who reprobated the above signified *declaration*, when it was brought into the house of lords, protesting that his conscience would not permit him to make it. (3) The candid Thorndyke, prebendary of Westminster; argues thus on the present subject: "Will any Papist acknowledge that he honours the elements of the eucharist for God? Will common sense charge him with ho-

(1) He charges Catholics with "senseless idolatry," and with "worshipping the creature instead of the Creator." *Confut.* p. ii. c. 1.

(2) The *Declaration against Popery*, by which Catholics were excluded from the houses of parliament, was voted by them during that time of national frenzy and disgrace, when they equally voted the reality of the pretended Popish plot, which cost the Catholics a torrent of innocent blood, and which was hatched by the unprincipled Shaftesbury, with the help of Dr. Tongue and the infamous Oates, to prevent the succession of James II. to the crown. See Richard's *Hist. North's Exam.* (3) *Burnet's Hist. Own Times.*

nouring that in the sacrament which he does not believe to be there!" (1) The celebrated bishop of Down, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, reasons with equal fairness where, he says: "The object of their (the Catholics) adoration in the sacrament is the only true and eternal God, hypostatically united with his holy humanity, which humanity they believe actually present under the veil of the sacrament. And if they thought him not present, they are so far from worshipping the bread, that they profess it idolatry to do so. This is demonstration that the soul has nothing in it that is idolatrical; the will has nothing in it but what is a great enemy to idolatry." (2)

The other instance of disingenuity and injustice on the part of Protestant divines and statesmen, consists in their overlooking the main subject in debate, namely, *whether Christ is or is not really and personally present in the sacrament*; and in the mean time *directing* all the force of their declamation and ridicule, and all the severity of the law, to a point of inferior or at least secondary consideration; namely, to the *mode* in which he is considered by one particular party *as being present*. It is well known that Catholics believe, that when Christ took the bread and gave it to his apostles, saying, **THIS IS MY BODY**, he changed the *bread* into his *body*, which change is called *transubstantiation*. On the other hand, the Lutherans, after their master, hold that *the bread and the real body of Christ are united; and both truly present* in the sacrament, as iron and fire are united in a red-hot bar. (3) This sort of presence, which would not be less miraculous and incomprehensible than transubstantiation, is called *consubstantiation*: while the Calvinists and church-of-England men in general (though many of the brightest luminaries of the latter have approached to the Catholic doctrine) maintain that Christ is barely present in *figure*, and received only *by faith*. Now all the alleged absurdities, in a manner, and all the pretended impiety and idolatry, which are attributed to *transubstantiation*, equally attach to *consustantiation* and to the *real presence* professed by those eminent divines of the established church. Nevertheless, what controversial preacher or writer ever attacks the latter opinions? What law excludes Lutherans from parliament, or even from the throne? So far from this, a chapel royal has been founded

(1) Just Weights and Measures, c. 19. (2) Liberty of Prophesying, Sect. 20. (3) De Capt. Babyl. Oslander, whose sister Cranmer married, taught *impanation*, or an hypostatical and personal union of the bread with Christ's body, in consequence of which a person might truly say: *This bread is Christ's body*.

and is maintained in the palace itself, for the propagation of their consubstantiation and the participation of their real presence! In short, you may say with Luther, *the bread is the body of Christ*, or with Osiander; *the bread is one and the same person with Christ*, or with bishop Cosin, that "Christ is present really and substantially by an incomprehensible mystery," (1) or with Dr. Balguy, that there is no mystery at all, but a mere "federal rite, barely signifying the receiver's acceptance of the benefit of redemption." (2) In short you may say any thing you please concerning the eucharist, without obloquy or inconvenience to yourself, except what the words of Christ, *this is my body*, so clearly imply, namely, that *he changes the bread into his body*. In fact, as the bishop of Meaux observes, "the declarations of Christ operate what they express; when he speaks, nature obeys, and he does what he says: thus he cured the ruler's son, by saying to him: *Thy son liveth*; and the crooked woman, by saying, *Thou art loosed from thy infirmity*." (3) The prelate adds, for our further observation, that Christ did not say, *My body is here; this contains my body*: but, *this is my body: this is my blood*. Hence Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza, and the defenders of the figurative sense in general, all, except the Protestants of England, have expressly confessed that, admitting the real presence, the Catholic doctrine is far more conformable to scripture than the Lutheran. I shall finish this letter with remarking, that as transubstantiation, according to bishop Cosin, was the first of Christ's miracles, in changing water into wine; so it may be said to have been his last, during his mortal course, by changing bread and wine into his sacred body and blood. I am, dear sir, your's, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

ON THE REAL PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

LETTER XLII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—It is clear, from what I have stated in my last letter to you, that the first and main question to be settled between the Catholics and Church-Protestants is concern-

(1) Hist of Transub. p. 44. (2) Charge viii. (3) Jer-

is a hard saying: who can hear it? . . . From that time many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him. Then Jesus said to the twelve: will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him: Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. Ver. 60, 66, 67, 68:

The apostles, thus instructed by Christ's express and repeated declaration, as to the nature of this sacrament; when he promised it to them, were prepared for the sublime simplicity of his words in instituting it. For, *whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples and said: take ye and eat: THIS IS MY BODY. And taking the chalice he gave thanks, and gave to them saying: drink ye all of this; FOR THIS IS MY BLOOD OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, WHICH SHALL BE SHED FOR MANY UNTO THE REMISSION OF SINS. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, 28.* This account of St. Matthew is repeated by St. Mark, xiv. 22, 23; 24, and nearly word for word by St. Luke, xxii. 19, 20, and by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 25; who adds: *Wherefore whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. . . and eateth and drinketh judgment (the Protestant bible says damnation) to himself. 1 Cor. xi. 27, 29.* To the native evidence of these texts I shall add but two words. First, supposing it possible that Jesus Christ had deceived the Jews of Capharnaum, and even his disciples and his very apostles, in the solemn asseverations which he, six times over, repeated of his real and corporal presence in the sacrament, when he promised to institute it; can any believe that he would continue the deception on his dear apostles, in the very act of instituting it? and when he was on the point of leaving them? In short, when he was bequeathing them the legacy of his love? In the next place, what propriety is there in St. Paul's heavy denunciations of profaning Christ's person, and of damnation, on the part of unworthy communicants, if they partook of it only by *faith* and in *figure*? For, after all, the paschal lamb, which the people of God had by his command every year eaten since their deliverance out of Egypt, and which the apostles themselves eat before they received the blessed eucharist, was, as a mere figure and an incitement to faith, far more striking than eating and drinking bread and wine are: hence the guilt of profaning the paschal lamb, and the numerous other figures of Christ, would not be less heinous than profaning the sacrament if He were not really there.

I should write a huge folio volume, were I to transcribe all the authorities in proof of the real presence and transubstantiation, which may be collected from the ancient fathers, councils and historians, anterior to the origin of these doctrines assigned by the bishops of London (1) and Lincoln. The latter, who speaks more precisely on the subject, says: "The idea of Christ's bodily presence in the eucharist was first started in the beginning of the eighth century. In the twelfth century, the actual change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, by the consecration of the priest, was pronounced to be a gospel truth. The first writer who maintained it was Paschasius Radbert. It was said to have been brought into England by Lanfranc." (2) What will the learned men of Europe, who are versed in ecclesiastical literature, think of the state of this science in England, should they hear that such positions as these have been published by one of its most celebrated prelates? I have assigned the cause why I must content myself with a few of the numberless documents which present themselves to me in refutation of such bold assertions. St. Ignatius, then, an apostolical bishop of the first century, describing certain contemporary heretics, says: "They do not admit of eucharists and oblations, because they do not believe the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who suffered for our sins." (3) I pass over the testimonies, to the same effect, of St. Justin Martyr, (4) St. Irenæus, (5) St. Cyprian, (6) and other fathers of the second and third centuries; but will quote the following words from Origen, because the prelate appeals to his authority in another passage, which is nothing at all to the purpose. He says then, "Manna was formerly given as a figure; but now the flesh and blood of the Son of God is specifically given, and is real food." (7) I must omit the clear and beautiful testimonies for the Catholic doctrine which St. Hilary, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, St. Jerom, St. Augustin, and a number of other illustrious doctors of the fourth and fifth ages furnish; but I cannot pass over those of St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Ambrose of Milan, because these occurring in catechetical discourses, or expositions of the Christian doctrine to their young neophytes, must evidently be understood in the most plain and literal sense they can bear. The

(1) Page 38. (2) Elem. of Theol. vol. ii. p. 380. (3) Ep. ad Smyrn.
 (4) Apolog. to Emip. Antioch. (5) L. v. c. 11. (6) Ep. 54. ad
 Cœnes. (7) Hom. 7. in Levit.

former says: "Since Christ himself affirms thus of the bread *This is my body*; who is so daring as to doubt it? And since he affirms: *This is my blood*; who will deny that it is his blood. At Cana of Galilee, he, by an act of his will, turned water into wine, which resembles blood; and is he not then to be credited when he changes wine into blood? Therefore, full of certainty, let us receive *the body and blood of Christ*: for under the form of bread is given to thee his body, and under the form of wine his blood." (1) St. Ambrose thus argues with his spiritual children: "Perhaps you will say: Why do you tell me that I receive the body of Christ, when I see quite another thing? We have this point therefore to prove. How many examples do we produce to shew you that this is not what nature made it, but what the benediction has consecrated it; and that the benediction is of greater force than nature, because by the benediction nature itself is changed! Moses cast his rod on the ground, and it became a serpent; he caught hold of the serpent's tail, and it recovered the nature of a rod. The rivers of Egypt, &c. Thou hast read of the creation of the world: if Christ, by his word, was able to make something out of nothing, shall he not be thought able to change one thing into another?" (2) But I have quoted enough from the ancient fathers to refute the rash assertions of the two modern bishops.

True it is that Paschasius Radbert, an abbot of the ninth century, writing a treatise on the eucharist, for the instruction of his novices, maintains the real corporeal presence of Christ in it: but so far from teaching a novelty, he professes to say nothing but what all the world believes and professes. (3) The truth of this appeared when Berengarius, in the eleventh century, among other errors denied the real presence; for then the whole Church rose up against him: he was attacked by a whole host of eminent writers, and among others by our archbishop Lanfranc; all of whom, in their respective works, appeal to the belief of all nations; and Berengarius was condemned in no less than eleven councils. I have elsewhere shewn the absolute impossibility, that the Christians of all the nations in the world should be persuaded into a belief, that the sacrament, which they were in the habit of receiving, was the *living Christ*, if they had before held it to be nothing but an inanimate *memorial* of him: even though, by another impos-

(1) Catech. Mystagog. 4.

(2) De his qui Myst. Int. c. 9.

(3) "Quod totus orbis credit et confitetur. See Perpetuite de la Foi.

ibility, all the clergy of the nations were to combine, together for effecting it. On the other hand, it is incontestable, and has been carried to the highest degree of moral evidence, (1) that all the Christians of all the nations of the world, Greeks as well as Latins, Africans as well as Europeans, except Protestants and a handful of Vaudois peasants, have in all ages believed and still believe in the real presence and transubstantiation.

I am now, dear sir, about to produce evidence of a different nature, I mean Protestant evidence, for the main point under consideration, the real presence. My first witness is no other than the father of the pretended reformation, Martin Luther himself. He tells us how very desirous he was, and how much he laboured in his mind to overthrow this doctrine, because, says he, (observe his motive) "I clearly saw how much I should thereby injure Popery. but I found myself caught, without any way of escaping: for the text of the gospel was too plain for this purpose." (2) Hence he continued till his death to condemn those Protestants who denied the corporal presence; employing, for this purpose, sometimes the shafts of his coarse ridicule, (3) and sometimes the thunder of his vehement declamation and anathemas. (4) To speak now of former eminent bishops and divines of the establishment in this country; it is evident from their works that many of them believed firmly in the real presence; such as the bishops Andrews, Bilson, Morton, Laud, Montague, Sheldon, Gunning, Forbes, Bramhall and Cosin, to whom I shall add the justly esteemed Hooker; the testimonies of whom, for the real presence, are as explicit as Catholics themselves can wish them to be. I will transcribe in the margin a few words from each of the last named authors. (5) The

(1) See in particular the last named victorious work, which has proved the conversion of many Protestants, and among the rest of a distinguished churchman now living.

(2) Epist. ad Argenten tom. iv. fol. 502, Ed. Witten.

(3) In one place he says, that "the devil seems to have mocked those to whom he has suggested a heresy so ridiculous and contrary to scripture as that of the Zuinglians," who explained away the words of the institution in a figurative sense. He elsewhere, compares these glosses with the following translation of the first words of scripture: *In principio Deus creavit celum et terram:—In the beginning the cuckoo eat the sparrow and its feathers.* Defens. Verb. Dom...

(4) On one occasion he calls those who deny the real and corporal presence, "A damned sect, lying heretics, bread-breakers, wine-drinkers, and soul-destroyers." In Parr. Catech. On other occasions he says: "They are imdevilized and superdevilized." Finally, he devotes them to everlasting flames, and builds his own hopes of finding mercy at the tribunal of Christ, on his having, with all his soul, condemned Carlostad, Zuinglius, and other believers in the symbolical presence.

(5) Bishop Bramhall writes thus: "No genuine son of the

near, or rather close, approach of these and other Protestant divines to the constant doctrine of the Catholic Church, on this principal subject of modern controversy, is evidently to be ascribed to the perspicuity and force of the declaration of holy scripture concerning it. As to the holy fathers, they received this, with other doctrines, from the apostles, independently of scripture: for before even St. Matthew's gospel was promulgated, the sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and the body and blood of Christ distributed to the faithful throughout a great part of the known world.

In finishing this letter I must make an important remark on the object and end of the institution of the blessed sacrament. This, our divine Master tells us, was to communicate a new and especial grace, or *life*; as he calls it, to us his disciples of the new law. *The bread that I will give is my flesh, for life of the world. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth me, the same shall also live by me. This is the bread that came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.* John, vi. 52, 58, 59. He explains, in the same passage, the particular nature of this spiritual life, and shews in what it consists, namely, in an intimate union with him; where he says: *He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him.* Ver. 57. Now the servants of God, from the beginning of the world, had striking figures and memorials of the promised Messiah, the participation of which, by faith and devotion, was in a limited degree beneficial to their souls. Such were the tree of life, the various sacrifices of the patriarchs, and those of the Mosaic law; but more particularly the paschal lamb, the loaves of proposition, and the manna of which Christ here

church (of England) did ever deny a true, real presence. Christ said *This is my body*, and what he said we steadfastly believe. He said neither CON, nor SUB, nor TRANS: therefore we place these among the opinions of schools, not among the articles of faith." Answer to Militaire, p. 74. Bishop Cosin is not less explicit in favour of the Catholic doctrine. He says: "It is a monstrous error to deny that Christ is to be adored in the eucharist. . . . We confess the necessity of a supernatural and heavenly change, and that the signs cannot become sacraments but by the infinite power of God. If any one make a bare figure of the sacrament, we ought not to suffer him in our churches." Hist. of Transub. Lastly, the profound Hooker expresses himself thus: "I wish men would give themselves more to meditate with silence on what we have in the sacrament, and less to dispute of the manner *how*. Sith we all agree that Christ, by the sacrament, doth really and truly perform in us his promise, why do we vainly trouble ourselves with so fierce contentions whether by consubstantiation or else by transubstantiation?" Eccles. Polit. B. v. p. 67.

speakers. still these signs, in their very institution, were so many promises, on the part of God, that he would bestow upon his people the thing signified by them; even his *incarnate Son*, who is at once our victim and our food, and who gives spiritual life to the worthy communicants, not in a limited manner, but indefinitely, according to each one's preparation. The same tender love which made him shroud the rays of his divinity, and *take upon himself the form of a servant, and the likeness of man*, in his incarnation; which made him become as a *worm and not a man, the reproach of men and the outcast of the people*, in his immolation on mount Calvary; has caused him to descend a step lower, and to conceal his human nature also under the veils of our ordinary nourishment, that thus we may be able to salute him with our mouths and lodge him in our breasts; in order that we may thus, each one of us, *abide in him and he abide in us*, for the life of our souls. No wonder that Protestants, who are strangers to these heavenly truths, and who are still immersed in the clouds of types and figures, not pretending to any thing more in their sacrament, than what the Jews possessed in their ordinances, should be comparatively so indifferant, as to the preparation for receiving it, and, indeed, as to the reception of it at all! No wonder that many of them, and among the rest Antony Ulric, duke of Brunswick, (1) should have reconciled themselves to the Catholic Church, chiefly for the benefit of exchanging the figure for the substance; the bare memorial of Christ for his adorable body and blood.

I am, dear sir, &c. JOHN MILNER.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER XLIII.—To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.

REV. SIR,—Though I had not received the letter with which you had honoured me, it was my intention to write to Mr. Brown, by way of answering bishop Porteus's objections against the Catholic doctrine of the blessed eucharist. As you, reverend sir, have in some manner adopted those objections, I address my answer to you.

You begin with the bishop's arguments from scripture, and

(1) Lettres d'un Docteur Allemand, par Scheffmacker, vol. i. p. 393.

say that the same divine personage who says : *Take, eat, this is my body*, elsewhere calls himself *a door* and *a vine* : hence you argue, that, as the two latter terms are metaphorical, so the first is also. I grant that Christ makes use of metaphors, when he calls himself a door and a vine ; but then he explains that they are metaphors, by saying : *I am the door of the sheep, by me if any man enter he shall be saved*, John, x. 9 ; and again, *I am the vine, you the branches : he that abideth in me, and I in him, beareth much fruit : for without me you can do nothing*, John, xv. 5. But in the institution of the sacrament, though he was then making his last will, and bequeathing that legacy to his children, which, in his promise of it, he assured them should be *meat indeed and drink indeed* ; not a word falls from him, to signify that his legacy is not to be understood in the plain sense of the terms he makes use of. Hence those incredulous Christians, who insist on allegorizing the texts in question (professing at the same time to make the *plain, natural* sense of scripture their *only rule of faith*), may allegorize every other part of holy writ, as ridiculously as Luther has translated the first words of Genesis, and thus gain no certain knowledge from any part of it. His lordship adds, that the apostles did not understand this institution literally, as they asked no questions, nor expressed any surprise concerning it. True, they did not ; but then they had been present, on a former occasion, at a scene in which the Jews, and even many of his disciples, expressed great surprise at the annunciation of this mystery, and asked : *How can this man give us his flesh to eat ?* On that occasion we know that Christ tried the faith of his apostles as to this mystery ; when they generously answered : *Lord, to whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life.*

You may quote, after Dr. Porteus, Christ's answer to the murmur of the Jews on this subject : *Doth this offend you ? If then you shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before ? It is the spirit that quickeneth ; the soul profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life.* John, vi. 63, 64. To this I answer, that if there were an apparent contradiction between this passage and those others in the same chapter, in which Christ so expressly affirms that his *flesh* is *MEAT INDEED*, and his *blood* *DRINK INDEED*, it would only prove more clearly the necessity of inquiring into the doctrine of the Catholic Church concerning them. But there is no such appearance of contradiction : on the contrary, our controvertists draw an argument from the first part of this passage, in favour of the real pre-

rence. (1) The utmost that can be deduced from the remaining part is, that Christ's inanimate flesh, manducated like that of animals, according to the gross idea of the Jews, would not confer the spiritual life which he speaks of: though some of the fathers understand these words, not of the body and blood of Christ, but of our unenlightened natural reason, in contradistinction to inspired faith; in which sense Christ says to St. Peter: *Blessed art thou, because flesh and blood has not revealed this to thee, but my Father who is in heaven.* Matt. xvi. 17. You add from St. Luke, that Christ says in the very institution, *Do this in memory of me.* Luke, xxii. 19. I answer that neither here is there any contradiction: for the eucharist is both a memorial of Christ and the real presence of Christ. When a person stands visibly before us, we have no need of any sign to call him to our memory; but if he were present in such a manner as to be *concealed* from all our senses, we might, without a memorial of him, as easily forget him as if he were a great distance from us. These words of Christ then, which we always repeat at the consecration, and the very sight of the sacramental species, serve for this purpose.

The objections, however, which you, reverend sir, and bishop Porteus, chiefly insist upon, are the testimony of our senses. You both say: the bread and wine are seen, and touched, and tasted in our sacrament the same as in yours. "If we cannot believe our senses," the bishop says, "we can believe nothing." This was a good popular topic for archbishop Tillotson, from whom it is borrowed, to flourish upon in the pulpit; but it will not stand the test of Christian theology. It would undermine the incarnation itself. With equal reason the Jews said of Christ: *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary?* Matt. xiii. 55. Hence they concluded that he was not what he proclaimed himself to be, the Son of God. In like manner, Joshua, thought he saw a man, *Joshua*, v. 13, and Jacob that he touched one, *Gen.* xxxii. 24, and Abraham that he eat with three men, *Gen.* xviii. 8, when in all these instances there were no real men, but unbodied spirits present; the different senses of those patriarchs misleading them. Again, were not *the eyes of the disciples going to Emmaus, held so that they should not know Jesus?* Luke, xxiv. 16. Did not the same thing happen to Mary Magdalen and the apostles? *John*.

(1) *Vérité de la Relig. Cat. prouvée par l'Ecriture.* par M. Des Mairis p. 163.

xx. 15. 'But independently of scripture, philosophy and experience shew that there is no essential connexion between our sensations and the objects which occasion them, and that, in fact, each of our senses frequently deceive us. How unreasonable then is it, as well as impious, to oppose their fallible testimony to God's infallible word! (1)

But the bishop, as you remind me, undertakes to shew that there are absurdities and contradictions in the doctrine of *transubstantiation*; he ought to have said of the *real presence*: for every one of his alleged contradictions is equally found in the Lutheran *consubstantiation*, in the belief of which our gracious queen was educated, and in the corporal presence held by so many English bishops. He accordingly asks how Christ's body can be contracted into the space of a host? How it can be at the right hand of his Father, in heaven, and upon our altars at the same time? &c. I answer first, with an ancient father; that if we insist on using this HOW of the Jews, with respect to the mysteries revealed in scripture, we must renounce our faith in it? (2) 2ndly. I answer, that we do not know what constitutes the essence of matter and of space. I answer, 3rdly, that Christ *transfigured* his body on mount Thabor, *Mark*, ix. 1, bestowing on it many properties of a spirit before his passion; and that after he had ascended up to heaven he appeared to St. Paul on the road to Damascus, *Acts*, ix. 17, and stood *by him*, in the castle of Jerusalem, *Acts*, xxiii. 11. Lastly, I answer, that God fills all space, and is whole and entire in every particle of matter; likewise that my own soul is in my right-hand and my left whole and entire; that the bread and wine, which I eat and drink, are substantiated into my own flesh and blood: that this body of mine, which some years ago was of a small size, has now increased to its present bulk; that soon it will turn to dust, or perhaps be devoured by animals or cannibals, and thus become part of their substance; and that, nevertheless, God will restore it entire at the last day. Whoever will enter into these considerations, instead of employing the Jewish HOW, will be disposed with St. Augustin, to admit

(1) For example, we think we see the setting sun in a line with our eyes; but philosophy demonstrates that a large portion of the terraqueous globe is interposed between them, and that the sun is considerably below the horizon. As we trust more to our feeling than any other sense; let any person cause his neighbour to shut his eyes, and then crossing the two first fingers of either hand, make him rub a pea, or any other round substance between them, he will then protest that he feels *two* such objects.

(2) Cyril. Alex. l. 4, in Johr.

that God can do much more than we can understand," and to cry out with the apostles respecting this mystery: "*Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.*"

dear sir, &c. JOHN MILNER.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER XLIV.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I ENTER upon the present subject with complaining of the too disingenuous practice of polemics on the opposite side of the question; first, in representing Catholics as idolaters, by worshipping bread and wine in the blessed sacrament, knowing, at the same time, as they do, that Catholics hold, as an article of faith, that *there is no bread nor wine in it, but only Jesus Christ*, true God and true Man: secondly, in their overlooking or disguising the principal matter in debate; which is, whether Christ is, or is not, really and corporally present in the eucharist? and, at the same time, directing all the force of their declamation and ridicule against a point of inferior or secondary consideration, namely, the manner by which he becomes present in it, which Catholics believe to be *transubstantiation*. In the mean time, our mistaken countrymen tolerate and protect the Lutheran systems of *consubstantiation*, *impanation*, and other Protestant systems, which are liable to most of the objections they bring against the Catholics. To the former of these complaints the Rev. Mr. Grier replies, with a confidence that merits a harder name than disingenuity, that "Dr. Milner must be conscious that nothing distinguished them so much (the English, and I suppose the Irish Protestant clergy, including the vicar himself) from their adversaries, as candour and fair dealing." Not to notice, however, either his boasts or his abuse any further, I observe, that he is much annoyed by the examples I brought to prove that Catholics are not guilty of idolatry in worshipping Christ in the sacrament, even though they should be mistaken as to the fact of his being present in the sacrament, while their whole intention and the homage of their hearts are directed to him alone, and while they expressly reject the adoration of bread and wine, as unlawful and idolatrous. I supposed that those Jews who mistook St. John the Baptist for Christ, to have paid him divine worship.

now, would they, I asked, be guilty in this case of idolatry? Or, if a loyal subject, charged with a dutiful address to the king, should by mistake present it to one of his courtiers, or even to a waxen figure of him, robed and crowned, and made perfectly to represent him, would there be any treason or disloyalty in this case, while the heart and intention of the subject were perfectly upright and faithful? To this the vicar answers: "It is much to be lamented that a gentleman, like Dr Milner, who possesses such a versatility of talent, so much learning, and such acute observation on every other subject, should appear to betray symptoms of an impaired intellect in religious concerns alone. I should wish to know from him what similitude exists between an address intended for the sovereign (*in the case supposed*), and a solemn act of religious worship?" My answer is, (without claiming those high qualifications which the vicar is pleased to ascribe to me) that *I have clearly shewn the similitude he calls for*; and that *he perfectly fails in his attempts to shew a dissimilitude*. What he says is this: "There is no resemblance between a solitary act—and a systematic observance—during a succession of ages." I answer: that if the upright and loyal intention of a good subject will excuse one mistake of the nature described, it will excuse several such acts, however habitual or long continued. He then says: "No two things can be more unlike than civil worship to man and adoration to God." True, one is human and the other divine; and yet the perfection of both depends, in a great measure, on the intention and heart of the person who pays them. He next, in a great many needless words, states a supposition that the loyal subject had been told that he was paying homage to a statue, and not to the king; I answer, that to make this supposition bear upon the point in question, namely, to prove that I, for example, am an idolater in worshipping Christ in the sacrament, it is necessary to suppose also that I ought to pay more attention to the admonitions and arguments of the vicar of Templebodane, and of certain other modern divines, who cannot agree among themselves upon any thing, except that it is necessary to reject the Catholic doctrine, than to the express texts of the four Evangelists and St. Paul, to the unanimous testimony of the ancient fathers, and to the tradition of the whole Church, as likewise of all those heretical and schismatical sects who abandoned it, down to the date of Luther's celebrated conference with satan. But, continues the vicar, "the idolatrous Jews, who worshipped the molten calf, might have excused themselves in the same way; as by

such worship they did not intend to withdraw their allegiance from the true God who brought them out of the land of Egypt." In asserting this, the vicar expressly contradicts the sacred text, which says to these Israelites: *They made a calf in Horeb, and worshipped the molten image. They forgot God, their Saviour, which had done great things in Egypt.* Ps. cvi. alias cv. 19, 21. It is clear that they meant to worship the bull Apis, which they had been accustomed to worship in Egypt: and had they really meant to pay homage to the true God, it would have been sinful in them to pay this to him under the form of a beast. As to the vicar's pretension that these idolaters "conceived that after Aaron's consecration of the golden calf, the accidents or species of the gold alone remained, while the substance of it was annihilated, and that under those God himself was present: I say, it is evidently a pure production of his own imagination, without authority or probability of any kind whatever. The same may be said of the defence he sets up for the idolatry of the Manichees and the Pagans. He concludes his vain attempt to fix the guilt of idolatry on the Catholics, for worshipping Christ in the blessed sacrament, by stating a great number of cases which may occur to prevent a real consecration of the elements: but all these have been fully answered, in what has been said above concerning the supposed errors of the pious Jews in worshipping St. John the Baptist for Christ, and of the loyal subject, who might address a royal courier, or representation of the king, for the king himself.

You will recollect, dear sir, that I have thus far been clearing Catholics of the horrid charge of idolatry, brought against them by the vicar and his associated polemics, and erroneously sanctioned by the legislature, on the supposition that the great universal Church is, and has been for so many centuries, deceived in her belief of Christ's real and substantial presence in the holy sacrament. As to what the vicar supposes, where he asks: "How can the sincerity of their belief that the bread and wine are really God lessen the idolatry; inasmuch as it is in the error of the belief, as well as the falsehood of the doctrine, that idolatry consists?" it is every way groundless and absurd. Catholics abjure the idolatry of worshipping bread and wine for God. On the other hand, idolatry consists neither in error of belief nor in falsehood of doctrine, but in the act of giving to a creature the honour which belongs to God. But what demonstrative proofs have not I and other Catholic divines adduced, from every passage of scripture in which this sacrament is mentioned, from every

father who treats of it, from every proof that the Catholic Church is the true Church, from the confession of those different churches and sects which have broken off from her communion, (1) and from the impossibility of a change having at any time taken place in the faith of five hundred millions of Christians with respect to this article. What demonstrative proofs, I say, have I not adduced that the Catholic Church is not deceived in this her belief, but that, on the contrary, the various and discordant sects of Protestants are unhappily involved in error and impiety on this fundamental point.

I complained not only of the charge of idolatry so unjustly brought against Catholics, on the subject of the eucharist, but also of the disingenuity of Protestant controvertists and preachers, in keeping the first and principal question at issue out of the sight and minds of their readers and hearers, as far as this is in their power, namely, whether Christ is or is not *really and substantially* present in the sacrament? and, directing the whole scope of their declamation and ridicule against the mode by which Catholics believe Christ renders himself present in it, namely, by a conversion of bread and wine into his flesh and blood, which is therefore called *transubstantiation*. In aid of this disingenuous conduct, I mentioned that the same persons are accustomed to disgrace their real tenets on the former head, by adopting language more or less conformable to that of Catholics and of holy scripture. You have seen above, dear sir, how the vicar takes fire at the charge of *disingenuity*, brought against Protestant polemics, and yet none of them whom I have met with are more guilty of it than himself. The articles of the church of England declare that the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the "supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner, and the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the sacrament is faith." Art. 28. To this is added; in the original formula as it was drawn up by Cranmer, approved in convocation and sanctioned by parliament, what follows: "A faithful man ought not either to believe, or openly to confess *the real* and bodily presence, as they term it, of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the Lord's supper." (2) Conformable to this declaration of Christ's *spi-*

(1) Greek, Russian, Armenian, Eutyehian, and Nestorian Christians may be met with at the Royal Exchange, all of whom will testify that their respective churches, some of which have existed for these eight centuries, others for these thirteen centuries and a half, believe as firmly in the real presence and transubstantiation as the Catholic Church does. (2) See the 42 Articles, A. D. 1552, in Heylin, Burnet, &c. Art. 28.

ritual presence in the sacrament has been the language and doctrine of English Protestant divines in general; but this Hibernian champion of the English church positively and repeatedly asserts that *Christ's body and blood are REALLY contained in the sacrament*. He has even the confidence to appeal to the articles, as compared with the canons of the council of Trent, in proof that "both churches agree about Christ's REAL PRESENCE in the sacrament, and that the great dispute between them relates to the nature of it." He adds: "Neither of us therefore can use the words REAL PRESENCE, as descriptive of our differences or of our peculiar opinions without further illustration, unless through ignorance, or with an intention to deceive." Yet, after all, dear sir, it is barely for the purpose of disguising his sentiments, and appearing to talk the language of scripture, that the vicar adopts this term, and so emphatically asserts that Jesus Christ is REALLY present in the holy eucharist. This soon appears when he assigns his reason for believing in this pretended *reality*. He says: "Protestants believe Christ to be *really present* in the sacrament, because they believe in his *ubiquity*," or *presence everywhere*. I have, in a former letter, exposed and refuted this monstrous error of *Christ's ubiquity*, which would imply that he was never born into this world, nor ever stirred from one place to another in it, nor ever ascended into heaven from it. But to confine myself to the present point. If Christ be present in the *Lord's supper*, because *he is everywhere*, then he is present in every other supper and meal we take share of no less than in that, and of course the magnificent promises and assurances of Christ: namely, *The bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world*, John, vi. 52. *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed*, v. 53. *He that eateth me, the same shall live by me*, v. 58, &c.; and in like manner the terrible denunciations of Paul: *Whosoever shall eat this bread or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord*, 1 Cor. xi. 27. *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself*, v. 29. All these, I say, are to pass for empty sounds. In the mean time the vicar, with the bishops Porteus, Burgess, and others, will still be free to boast that he builds his religion on *the plain obvious sense of scripture*, and to reproach the Catholics with distorting the latter by glosses and forced constructions from its natural meaning. True it is, he says, on this subject, but most inconsistently what follows: "Most cordially do I agree with Dr. Milner that

our Saviour did not intend to deceive his apostles when he instituted the sacrament, and was on the point of leaving them and bequeathing them the legacy of his love. For, *He who did not sin, neither was guile found in his mouth*, could not practice deception. We must be perfectly convinced, that he only designed by this ceremony (that of taking bread, blessing it, and giving it to them, saying, Take ye and eat, **THIS IS MY BODY**), that they should *remember him and his body broken for them.*" Hence I infer that, in bequeathing this legacy of his love, Christ meant what he said. True it is also that the vicar supports his opinion by that of bishop Taylor and the present bishop of Durham; the former of whom says: "Christ is no way present in the sacrament as to his *human nature*. He is present there by his *divine power*; but for any other presence it is *idolum*, it is nothing in the world;" while the latter maintains, that "to eat Christ is an act of faith of the mind, not of the body." Still, I say, it is evident that these polemics prove nothing else by their assertions except to what an extent of inconsistency and impiety, against the express word of God, a determined opposition to his holy Church is capable of carrying men of talents and learning. Look over again, my dear sir, I beseech you, the passages of scripture I have quoted, and likewise the assertions of the vicar and his two episcopal authorities, and reflect whether you ever witnessed greater absurdity or opposition to the sacred text than are contained in the latter. According to them, Christ, who, you know, consists of a human as well as a divine nature, is *really* present in the sacrament, and yet he is only present in it by *his divine power*, every other presence being *idolum*, that is, nothing in the world! He gives us *his flesh indeed and his blood indeed* to eat and drink, when he gives us mere bread and wine *to remember him and his body broken!* We verily *eat and drink Christ*, by exercising an *act of the mind* without an *act of the body!* And though this meat and drink are nothing but *types and representations* of Christ, who is as really present in every other kind of meat and drink as he is in those of the sacrament, yet he that eats and drinks the latter unworthily, or without faith, *eats and drinks damnation to himself!* But whereas there are other, and more striking representations of Christ and *his body broken* than bread and wine are: for example, the concluding chapters of the four evangelists, or a pious picture of the last supper, or of the crucifixion, it might be said, according to the vicar's theology, *he that looks upon any of them without faith eats and drinks damnation to himself!* In short, it is plain

the Protestants, to get rid of the mysteries implied in the literal text, in each one of their numerous systems, plunge into inextricable inconsistencies and contradictions, as the poet Dryden pointedly expresses in the lines I before quoted. (1)

The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood:—

But nonsense never could be understood.—*Hind and Panther.*

The vicar next proceeds to the desperate attempt of pressing the ancient fathers into his service, by proving that they did not believe in transubstantiation and the real presence; but this will prove an ample subject for another letter.

I am, dear sir, your's, &c. JOHN MILNER.

TESTIMONIES OF THE ANCIENT FATHERS FOR THE REAL PRESENCE AND TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

LETTER XLV.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq

DEAR SIR,—Luther, who was a learned and intelligent man, and, whether the vicar allows it or not, the *father* of what is called *the Reformation*, had too much sense to trust his cause to the testimony of the ancient fathers. Accordingly, in one of his books against Erasmus, he thus reproaches him: "You do well to boast of the fathers, since they have all of them together neglected St. Paul." (2) The famous polemic, Whitaker, affirms that, "The Popish religion is a patched coverlid of the fathers' errors sewed together." (3) His contemporary, Dr. Humphrey, with whom the vicar's friend Fulk joins, complains that bishop Jewel, by his bold appeal to the fathers, "gave the Papists too large a scope, injured himself, and after a manner spoiled himself and his church." (4) Most other learned Protestants of later times give up the ancient fathers to the Catholics as their natural fathers, one of whom, the celebrated Dr. Conyers

(1) At the beginning of the Reformation, Erasmus ridiculed the idea of an imaginary feast on an ideal victim, by mere faith, which some Protestants then held in the following manner: Having borrowed from one of them his horse, called *Frederick*, when the latter sent to have it returned to him, instead of the horse, Erasmus sent him the following lines:—

"Quod mihi dixisti, De Corpore Christi: Credo quod habes, et habes
Hoc tibi jam dico, De tuo Frederico; Crede quod habes et habes."

(2) De Servo Arbitrio. tom. ii. (3) Contra Dursum. (4) De Vita Jewelli.

Middleton, speaking of the practice of those Protestants who appeal to the primitive fathers and councils, says: "From the little success that it has had, or ever can have in our controversies with Papists, it is evident that it cannot be considered in any other light than as a vain ostentation of learning, and an impatient zeal to repel that charge of ignorance and contempt of primitive antiquity with which the Protestant churches are constantly charged by the Romanists." He adds: "When Cranmer and Ridley had evinced the truth of their doctrines by clear and unanswerable testimonies of scripture, it grieves me to see them labouring and gravelling at a passage of Chrysostom, or Hilary, and giving their adversaries an occasion of triumph, by submitting to an authority which they were neither at liberty to reject, nor yet able to reconcile to their cause." (1) Nevertheless, the vicar, to use his own words, being "determined to deprive Dr. M. of the adventitious aid which he derived from their service," (2) undertakes, what with quibbling and what with bold assertions and denials, to turn those Greek and Latin writers of the six first centuries into Protestants of the church of England, whether they will or not.

It is to be remarked, however, that whereas the blessed sacrament, besides the substance of Christ's body and blood, contains the figure and sign of them in the species or accidents of the bread and wine, which remain after the change of the latter by the words of Christ have taken place, so the fathers, especially in their controversies with certain subtle heretics, spoke of the latter—that is to say, the species without any express mention of the former, namely, the substance, which was universally understood. Thus some of them called the eucharist a figure or representation; but, observe, that not one of them ever called it a *mere figure*, or bare representation.

To enter now into this vast field to which the vicar challenges me: it is true that I quoted, in proof of the real presence, the words of the apostolic father St. Ignatius, who, reprobatng certain heretics of his time, writes: "They do not admit of eucharists and oblations, because *they do not believe the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ*, who suffered for our sins." To this the vicar objects, first, that I "stopped" and did not add the following words of the passage: "and which (*flesh*) was raised from the dead: they

(1) Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers, p. 70, &c.

(2) Prefat. Remarks, p. 43.

therefore resisting the grace of God, die in their disputes:" words which evidently strengthen instead of weakening the reality of Christ's flesh in the sacrament. This is a specimen of the *garbling* with which the vicar reproaches me! He objects, in the second place, that I put the word *oblations* for the Greek word *προσευχης* in this passage: but first, if this were a wrong translation, it would not alter the drift of the quotation, which consists in the father's condemning certain persons for *disbelieving the eucharist to be the flesh of Christ*. But, secondly, if you, dear sir, or any one else, will consult the learned notes of the editor of St. Ignatius, Cotclerius, p. 420, you will see abundant proofs from the usage of other fathers, that the Greek word in question means here not *every kind of prayer*, but the liturgical prayer, or the Mass: accordingly the great Theodoret, quoting this passage, uses the word *προσφορας*, and not *προσευχης*. Indeed what pretext would the disbelief of Christ's flesh being in the eucharist afford any person for abstaining from *ordinary prayer*? (1)

The vicar next produces a garbled extract, both in Greek and English, from a passage of St. Justin's second Apology, pretending that it is too long to be quoted in the whole of it; which however I will give you entire, and then leave you to judge for yourself (when I shall have reminded you, that the blessed sacrament after its consecration continues to nourish the body of the receiver, by means of its outward part, or its accidents) whether it "speaks the language of the church of England," as the vicar says it does, or that of the Catholic Church. St. Justin, then, after describing the consecration and reception of the eucharist, speaks of it thus: "For we do not receive these as common bread or as common wine; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, becoming incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; so we are taught that the food by which, through digestion, our flesh and blood are nourished, being made the eucharist by the prayers and the word of God, are the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus." The vicar next talks a great deal about a passage of St. Ireneus, which he admits the learned Protestant, Dr. Grave, considered as conclusive for

(1) The vicar reproaches me, in a note of the quoted page, with having "overlooked the original, and taken the father's meaning from a Latin version." He even insinuates that I am like some Italian Jesuit, who, he says, thanked heaven that he was ignorant of Greek." I say nothing to this insult, except what will readily be believed, that few Jesuits are inferior to the generality of *Irish Schoolmasters*, either in classical or scientific literature.

transubstantiation, but which he is afraid to produce. This therefore remains for me to do. Disputing then against the heretics who denied that Christ was the Son of the World's Creator, and the Creator himself, this bright luminary of the second century writes thus: "How will it appear to them, that the bread, over which the blessing has been made, is the body of the Lord and the chalice of his blood, if they will not acknowledge that he is the Son of the Creator of the world; that is to say, the Word by which wood produces its fruit, fountains flow, which first produces the green herb, then the ear of corn, then the full wheat in the ear?" (1) He afterwards says: "When the mixed cup and the made bread perceives the Word of God, it becomes the eucharist of the blood and body of Christ." (2)

The vicar will not allow of the emphatical language in which St. Cyprian proved to pope Cornelius the necessity of the lapsed Christians who were truly penitents being strengthened with the blood of Christ in the holy sacrament, previously to their shedding their own blood for him, to be any proof of this father's believing that Christ's real blood is contained in it: by way then of saving time, I wish to ask him, will he equally deny that St. Cyprian believed in the real présence, when he affirmed, in a sermon, that "those (impénitent apostates) who receive the body and blood of Christ into their hands and their mouths, offer violence to them (*Vis infertur corpori et sanguini*), and are guilty of a greater sin than when they denied the Lord?" (3) Will he deny the same, in reading the several miracles which St. Cyprian recounts respecting unworthy communicants, such as that of a guilty woman, who, on opening her box in which she kept the sacrament, a fire burst forth from it; of a man in the same predicament, in whose hand the consecrated species was turned into ashes: and of an infant, who, having received wine polluted with idolatry, could not swallow a drop out of the sacred chalice? I should also like to ask him what the sacramental bread shut up in a box is in his system of theology? I quoted Origen, who says, "Manna was formerly given as a figure, but now the flesh and blood of the Son of God are specifically given, and are real food." The vicar complains that he cannot find the passage quoted. (4) I will therefore furnish him with another from the same father,

(1) Contra Hæres. l. iv. c. 34. (2) Ibid. l. v. c. 2. (3) Sermo. de lapsis. (4) I have here to acknowledge a mistake, in having referred to Origen's Chapter vii. on *Levit.* instead of Chapter vii. on *Numbers*.

where he says: "When you receive the holy food and that *incorruptible banquet*, you eat and drink the body of the Lord." (1) What proves that Origen speaks of the *real body* of Christ in the sacrament, and *not of bread* as the figure of it, is his calling it an *incorruptible banquet*. But, says the vicar, Origen himself elsewhere calls the sacrament a *typical and symbolical body*. Without recurring here to my former remark, namely, that Christ's body is both *figuratively* and *really* present in the sacrament, I answer, that the reverend gentleman's criticism only proves how little he is versed in the phraseology of this father, as it is usual with him to call every thing *typical* and *symbolical* which has any kind of analogy with spiritual matters. Thus, for example, he says, that St. John *rested on the breast* of Christ *symbolically*; (2) that, when Judas went out from the last supper, "*it was night symbolically*;" (3) that the high priest of the Jews was a *symbolical priest*, and that bishops are forbidden *to have two wives symbolically*. (4) The vicar's second medium to prove that Origen's language is "the same with that of the Church catechism," is, that the latter says: "The material part of the food, which is sanctified by the word of God and prayer, goes into the belly and then into the draught." But this is true, even on Catholic principles, as far as regards the outward part, or the accidents of the sacrament. (5) But, supposing even it could be proved that this father laid the foundation of the odious error of the *Stercorari*, which certain scholastics maintained in the ninth century, this would only prove more strongly that he held the real corporal presence and transubstantiation.

The vicar now produces St. Basil, who testifies that "as our Lord is the true bread, and his flesh is the true meat, it is necessary that the delightful pleasure that we receive from that bread should be conveyed to us *by our tasting it spiritually*." (6) But how, in the name of common sense, does this militate against the real presence? And what Catholic ever pretended to *taste the flesh of Christ* in the sacrament? On the other hand, what proves this father to have held the doctrine in question, is the striking comparison which he institutes between the violators of the sacrifice of the new law

(1) Hom. 5. On different places of the Gospel. (2) In Joan. tom. xxxii. p. 405. (3) Ibid. p. 412. (4) In Matt. t. 14. (5) Some of the saints and other holy personages, who were ready at all times to shed their blood for the doctrine of the real presence and transubstantiation have subsisted for a long time wholly on the eucharistic species. (6) Or. Baptism, b. ii. c. 2.

and those of the ancient sacrifices. "If," says he, "such threats were made against those who rashly approached to the sacred rites, which were sanctified by men, what is to be said of him who is guilty of rashness against such and so great a mystery! For, in the same degree that he, according to the Lord's word, is greater than the temple, in the same it is more grievous and dreadful for any one, defiled with spiritual impurity, rashly to 'touch the body of Christ than to approach to rams and bulls.'" (1) The same doctrine runs through the whole of St. Basil's liturgy of the Mass, which is still used in the churches of the east. Thus, in the consecration of the elements, the priest calls: *τον μεν αρτον τουτον, αυτο το τιμιον σωμα του Κυριου και Θεου και σωτηρος ημων, Ιησου χριστου, το δε ποτηριον τουτον αυτο το τιμιον αιμα, &c.* It will not be believed that the brother of the last quoted father, St. Gregory of Nyssa, or his bosom friend, the renowned divine, St. Gregory Nazianzen, differed from him, or the universal Church of his time, in this important article. Hear then what the former says: "It is now to be considered how the same body which is distributed to so many thousands of the faithful throughout the world remains whole and entire in itself in each one of them. Therefore, I justly believe that the bread sanctified by the Word of God is *transformed into the body* of the Word of God. This he bestows by the power of his blessing in that *transelemented nature* of the things that appear to us." (2) St. Gregory Nazianzen, exhorting his flock at the paschal solemnity, tells them "to eat the body and drink the blood without hesitation or doubt, and to disregard the objections of their adversaries." (3) Again, in his funeral oration on his sister Gorgonia, he says, that, being afflicted with an incurable disorder, she went on a certain night into the church, and there, "falling on her knees, with faith, before the altar, she besought Him, with a loud cry, who is worshipped on it," &c.

The vicar next quotes the following words from St. Chrysostom: "If Jesus be not dead, whose symbols are they that are offered? Since therefore the Word says, let us obey and believe, and look upon it with the eyes of the understanding. For what Christ delivered has nothing to do with the senses, but, although joined with sensible objects, all is spiritual."

(1) On Baptism, b. ii. c. 2.

(2) Catechetical Discourse, c. 36; 37.

In the last quoted words, the father employed the word *μεταστοιχειωσα*, which, as the learned observe, is a stronger word for the same thing than *transubstantiation*.

No Catholic pastor would hesitate to use the same words in his sermon at the present day; they imply nothing more than that Christ is not visible in the sacrament, and that though there are sensible things (the species or accidents) in it, yet that the real contents of it, which are his body, blood, soul and divinity, are only present, through faith, to the eyes of the understanding on the soul. But will the vicar, in his turn, engage to deliver from his pulpit at Templebodane, or the Castle chapel, the following explicit testimonies of the illustrious father, which I have selected from a great many others no less clear? "Let us in all things believe God, and not contradict him, though what he says may seem contradictory to our sense and apprehension. His words cannot deceive us, but our senses may be easily mistaken.—Since therefore he has said **THIS IS MY BODY**, let us be convinced and believe, and behold it with the eyes of the understanding." (1) Again: "When thou seest the body lying before thee, say: This is the same body which bled and was pierced with the lance."—"Thinkest thou that thou seest bread and wine, and that these pass off as other foods do: but far be it from thee to think so." (2) "He said, **THIS IS MY BODY**: these words effect the change." (3) "How far therefore ought not that person to excel every thing else in purity, who is to partake of this sacrifice! Ought not the hand which breaks this flesh, the mouth which is filled with this spiritual fire, the tongue that is empurpled with this awful blood, to be purer than the solar beams? When the priest has invoked the Holy Ghost and perfected the dreadful sacrifice, and forthwith taken into his hands the common Lord of all things, in what rank shall we place him? What great holiness are we to expect from him! At that time the angels surround the priest, and every choir of the heavenly powers cries out," &c. (4) Should the vicar, I say, read out these passages of St. Chrysostom in his parish church or the Castle chapel, as part of his sermon, I do not know what else might befall him, but certainly they would be far from helping his promotion.

The vicar's next witness for the Protestant doctrine is St. Jerom, where he says. "In the type of his blood he offered not water but wine." Catholics still say the same; namely, that he did not offer the species of water, but of wine, as the type of his blood, though they continue to mix a small quan-

(1) Hom. 83, on Matt. (2) Hom. 14, on John. (3) Hom. 24, in the Corinth. (4) On the Priesthood, b. vi.

city of water (in omitting to do which, learned Protestants are conscious of abandoning Apostolical tradition): but let us hear St. Jerom, where he does not speak of types, but of the Eucharist itself. Arguing for the observance of continency, or abstinence from all carnal gratification, as a preparation for receiving the holy communion, from the admonition of Achimelec to David, when he was desirous of eating of the loaves of proposition. 1 Kings, *alias* Samuel, xxi. 4, the father says: "There is as much difference between the loaves of proposition (the holy bread which David wished to eat of) and the body of Christ, as there is between the image and the reality; between the figures of what are true, and the things which they prefigured." (1) Elsewhere, speaking of the priesthood, he says, with a strength of expression that requires some explanation, "God forbid that I should speak disrespectfully of those who, succeeding to the office of the apostles, do make the body of Christ with their sacred mouth." (2)

With what frame of countenance, I should like to know, did the vicar cite those vague words of St. Hilary, "No one is an image of himself," in proof that this father did not believe in the real presence, when the following, among other testimonies to the same effect, stared him in the face: "There is no room left for doubting of the reality of the body and blood, since, both by the Lord's declaration and our faith, it is true flesh and blood. Is not this the truth? Let those deny it to be true, who deny that Jesus Christ is true God." (3)

It might seem that the vicar courted disgrace for his cause, as well as himself, when he can place the issue of it on such an equivocal passage of St. Augustin as the following. "The signs are varied, faith remaining the same: in the wilderness the Rock was Christ; to us that which is placed on the altar is Christ;" at the same time that we must know with what numberless express and unequivocal passages, in proof of the Catholic doctrine, and in refutation of his own objections to it, the works of this enlightened father abound. I shall quote a very small proportion of them. "Christ took earth from the earth (flesh being of earth), and this flesh he took from the flesh of Mary; and because he conversed with us in the flesh, he gave us this same flesh to eat for our salvation: but *no one eats that flesh, without adoring it first.*—We are so far from sinning by adoring it, that *we even sin if*

(1) In cap. 1. Tit.

(2) Epist. ad Heliôdor.

(3) De Trinit. l. 8.

we do not adore it." (1) "As with a faithful heart and mouth we receive the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gives us his flesh to eat and his blood to drink, although it seems more horrible to eat man's flesh than to kill it." (2) "Christ was carried in his own hands; when giving his own true body, he said: **THIS IS MY BODY.**" (3) "Christ called his body meat and his blood drink: the faithful understand the sacrament of the faithful. But there are some who do not believe: these said to him: *it is a hard saying*: who can hear him? It is a hard saying, but to the obdurate: it is incredible, but to the incredulous." (4) "Christ said, the flesh profiteth nothing; that is, it profiteth nothing as they understood it. For they understood it to signify dead flesh, as it is sold in the markets, not as it is quickened with life." (5)

The vicar must be sensible that I do not produce a tenth part of the ancient authorities that I might do; nevertheless he taunts me with not having produced any one from Tertullian, and fancies he has got hold of strong testimonies against me, where this father says: "We ought not to offer unto God earthly, but spiritual sacrifices;" and again: "Christ made the bread his body, by saying, **THIS IS MY BODY.** that is, the *figure of my body.*" (6) To this I answer, that Tertullian is seen to be of the same sentiment with the rest of the fathers concerning the Eucharistic sacrament and sacrifice, by his marked distinction between the sacrament, preserved in a box, for private communion, and ordinary bread; (7) and by the extreme horror he expresses of any particle of it falling to the ground; (8) as likewise by his affirming that "our flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that our souls may be fattened with his divinity." (9) With respect to the principal passage on which the vicar builds his claim to Tertullian, and which (setting aside his mistake) is a proof that this father held to transubstantiation, it is plain that the Rev. Gentleman is not better versed in Tertullian's style.

(1) Ennarat. in Ps. xcvi. (2) Lib. Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. 1. 11. (3) Com. in Ps. xxxiii. (4) Lib. de Verb. Apost. (5) Tract. 26, in Joan. (6) The vicar, in quoting this passage, both suppresses an essential part of it and misrepresents the whole meaning of it, as I shall immediately shew. The true reading of it is this: "*Corpus suum: illum fecit: hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei: figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esset corpus.*" (7) "Non sciet Maritus quid secreto, ante omnem cibum, gustes? Et si sciverit panem non illum credit esse quod dicitur."—*Ad Uxor* 1. 2. (8) *De Coron.* (9) *De Resurrect. Carn.*

which is distinguished by its *transpositions*, than he has been found to be in that of the contemporary Origen. Thus, for example, instead of saying, *Christus, id est Unctus, mortuus est*, Tertullian says: "Christus mortuus est, id est, unctus:" (1) and instead of saying: *Aperiam in parabolam, id est similitudinem, aurem mean*: this father says: "Aperiam in parabolam, aurem mean, id est, similitudinem." (2) You have now seen (to use the vicar's own words) "how successful he has been in his appeal to the primitive fathers."

Among the numerous and copious testimonies of the fathers which presented themselves for quotation on the present subject, I selected those of St. Cyril, patriarch of Jerusalem in the fourth century, and of his contemporary St. Ambrose, archbishop of Milan, and doctor of the Western church, not so much for their dignity and sanctity, as because the treatises I quoted are familiar instructions, or catechisms, addressed to their respective flocks; in which it is natural to expect they would express themselves plainly, and lay down the doctrine of the Church in the clearest terms possible. This they have done, especially the first-mentioned of them, to the very great displeasure and annoyance of the vicar: indeed, he loses all patience on the subject, charging me with "the most flagrant injustice to St. Cyril, in reproducing a passage from him which Ward published above a century ago in a mutilated state, after taking out of the context as much as would have determined its meaning." He adds, that "the reproduction is the more inexcusable, as Dr. Milner should have assigned some reason for following Ward's track, after the detection and exposure of the fraud in my (the Rev. R. Grier's) strictures on that author. I have there exhibited in its true colours his disingenuous attempt to palm on the public the passage in question, as the unbroken narrative of Cyril, after he had pared it down to suit his purpose. Nor can I now condemn in less severe terms, the artifice to which his servile imitator has had recourse." Now all this indignant and vapouring language of the vicar is nothing else, my dear sir, but mere *charlatanerie*, to take off the reader's attention from the doctrine itself of the Eastern patriarch, which is as clearly and emphatically expressive of transubstantiation as any to be met with in Bellarmine or St. Thomas. For, in what does this alleged *mutilation* and *paring down of the context* by Ward consist? Merely, in the latter's omission of the particle AS in his translation of it, which, if inserted.

(1) *Contra Prax*, c. 29.(2) *Contra Marcion*, c. 3.

only expresses the Catholic doctrine more clearly. St. Cyril in the quoted passage, after repeating the whole of Christ's words of consecration from St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 23, and asking "who will dare to disbelieve him?"—and after reminding his hearers of Christ's miraculous change of water into wine which is next to blood (*οικειον αμαρτι*), and then asking "how much rather ought not we to believe that he gives his body and blood to the children of the spouse?"—goes on thus: "Therefore with all certainty let us receive it *as* the body and blood of Christ; for, under the appearance of bread the body is given to you, and under the appearance of wine the blood is given to you; that having received the body and blood of Christ, you may be of the same body and the same blood with him." Nothing can be plainer, from the whole context, than that the particle *AS*, on which the vicar lays his stress, means that the communicant is to believe *the sacrament to be the body of Christ*, not that he is to believe it to be a figure of it. Ward, of course, was guilty of no fraud nor error, when he gave the passage thus: "Wherefore, full of certainty, let us receive the body and blood of Christ, &c.

There are several other passages in St. Cyril's fourth lecture, equally expressive of his own and the Church's firm belief in the corporal presence and in transubstantiation, beside the one already quoted: of these, I shall only adduce the father's concluding admonition to his hearers: "Learning this," he says, "and certainly believing that what appears to be bread is not bread, though you perceive the taste of bread, but the body of Christ, and that what appears to be wine is not wine, but the blood of Christ, &c."

In his fifth catechetical discourse, the original text of which now lies before me, St. Cyril treats chiefly of the eucharistic sacrifice, called the Mass; and, as this discourse contains several points that illustrate not only the subject I have been treating of, but also others that are in debate between the vicar and myself, I shall give some brief sketches of it.

The venerable patriarch begins his discourse with an excellent explanation of the ceremony of the priest's washing his hands before he proceeds to the awful rite of sacrifice. Next he explains the nature and import of the pax, or kiss of peace, which is still practised in the Latin Church, but later in the service. Then comes the preface: "the priest crying out *ανω τας καρδιας*; lift up your hearts; to which you answer, *εχομεν προς κυριον*, we have them to the Lord. Then the priest says: *Ευχαριστησωμεν τω κυριω* let us give thanks to the

Lord: to which you answer: *αξιον και δικαιον*. In short, preface concluded, as it does still, with the doxology or *αγιος* thrice repeated. After this we beseech the gracious God to send his Holy Spirit, in order to *make the bread the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ να ποιηση τον μελλοντα αρτον σωμα χριστου, τον δε οινον αιμα χριστου*: for on whatever that spirit descends, it is sanctified and changed. Then when that spiritual sacrifice and that unbloody worship on the host of propitiation is completed, we beseech God for the common peace of the Church, &c.; we pray, I say, and beseech, and we offer this sacrifice to thee, that thou wouldst remember all those who have slept before us, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, that God, *through their prayers and intercessions, may receive our supplications*: *οπως θεος ευχαις αυτων και προσευχαις προσδωαι ημων την δεσιν*. Then we pray for our deceased holy fathers and bishops, and finally for all our deceased, believing it to be a great relief to those souls, for whom the supplication of the holy and tremendous sacrifice on the altar is offered up." Here the patriarch solidly vindicates the practice of praying for the dead from the objections of certain persons who opposed it. After that comes the Lord's prayer, as it does still in our missal, which the father expounds most elaborately: coming at length to speak of the holy communion, after once more admonishing his flock not to judge of it by the taste, but rather "firmly to believe that, under the appearances, the body and blood of Christ are present," he instructs them not to spread the hand open or to separate the fingers, but to place the left hand under the right; making "a throne for so great a king, and to receive, in the hollow of the hand, the body of Christ:" as and so to receive it, as was the practice in those days. In case this long extract, so replete with Popery in every part of it, should fall into the vicar's hands, so far from again reproaching me with *mutilating, garbling, and paring down* the quoted catechism of the fourth century, I expect that he will allege with De Lith, that St. Cyril *was young* when he composed it, or with another Protestant minister, that it is a *forgery*.

With respect to the other illustrious father, whose testimony I cited at some length, St. Ambrose, the vicar says "the unconnected form into which Dr. Milner has thrown it (the testimony) precludes the possibility of my detecting any operation of the pruning knife, such as that performed on St. Cyril." I believe, sir, that neither you, nor any other reader of what is stated above, will soon forget the vicar's attempted *operation* on St. Cyril, and as to his excuse for not being able

to detect an omission, which *he supposes may have taken place* in my quotation from St. Ambrose, this only shows his inability to grapple with that testimony. (1) He begins with referring to a different work of the father from that cited above, in which the latter illustrates the change that takes place in the eucharist, by that of regeneration in baptism, which, by the by, is not a figurative but a real change. Let us however hear St. Ambrose throughout in what he says concerning the blessed eucharist, in the very book here referred to. He says: "This bread is bread, before the words of the sacrament; but when the consecration is added, of bread it becomes the flesh of Christ. Let us now shew how that which is bread becomes the body of Christ. By consecration. By what words and by whose speech is consecration performed? By those of the Lord Jesus. For, as to the rest that is said (*namely, in the Mass*), (2) it consists of praises to God, of prayers for the people, &c.; but when the priest comes to perform the venerable sacrament, he does not use his own speeches, but the speeches of Christ. Therefore the speech of Christ makes this sacrament. Hence, to answer you, there was not the body of Christ before the consecration; but after the consecration, I tell you, there *is* the body of Christ." Even the translucid passage I quoted from the father's book, *De Myst. Init.* which begins with the objection, "why do you tell me that I receive the body of Christ, when I see quite another thing?" And which ends with the chief answer to it, namely, "if Christ, by his word, was able to make something out of nothing, shall he not be thought able to change one thing into another?" Even this passage, according to the disingenuous vicar, so far from giving "the slightest countenance to transubstantiation, is no less averse to it than the former." Perhaps then the vicar holds that the rod of Moses was not really changed into a serpent, nor the rivers of Egypt into blood, nor the water of Cana into wine, nor the world actually created, but in *figure only*, which are the examples St. Ambrose makes use of to prove the change which takes place in the sacrament by the words of Christ, *HOC EST CORPUS, &c.* In concluding, however,

(1) In the second passage which the vicar have given us from St. Ambrose, he not only garbles but likewise materially alters the text of it, both in the Latin and the English: In the former he puts *quod est figura* for *quod est in figuram*. (2) Lib. iv. De Sacramentis. St. Ambrose,

in his letter to his sister Marcellina, makes express mention of his saying *Mass*; where, speaking of the violation of the churches, he tells her. "Ego tamen mansi in munere, *Misam facere cæpi, &c.*" l. v. ep. 33.

the vicar makes the following strange concession: "The father says nothing more nor less, than that the elements, after consecration, are endowed with *more heavenly graces*, than they had before it, but that they retain their properties unchanged." Heavens! what do I hear? *Elements of bread and wine endowed with heavenly graces! Some heavenly graces, before consecration, but more heavenly graces after it!* What Catholic father, or what Protestant vicar, before the incumbent of Templebodane, ever used such language, or expressed such sentiments! And how does the existence of these very graces, in whatever they may consist, agree with what this reverend gentleman has before told us of Christ's being present in the sacrament no other way than by his *ubiquity*?

Methinks that by the time the vicar shall have reached to this point of our controversy, he will have wished he had followed the advice of Dr. Conyers Middleton, mentioned above, instead of forming the rash "determination of depriving Dr. Milner of the adventitious aid of the fathers." Thus much I consider as certain, that there is no zealous and intelligent Protestant, who, after witnessing the contrast between him and his present antagonist, will not complain of him as Dr. Humphreys did of bishop Jewel's extravagant challenge, that he has by his rashness "spoiled himself and his cause." I could fill up the chasm between the death of the above quoted St. Augustin, which took place before the middle of the fifth century, and that of St. Gregory the Great, at the beginning of the seventh century, with the testimonies of fathers of the Church equally renowned for their learning and orthodoxy, equally conclusive for the doctrine of the real presence and transubstantiation as those above quoted, such as a Cyril of Alexandria, a Theodoret, a Leo the Great, a Peter Chrysologus, &c. but I will content myself with citing a few words from the abovementioned truly great pope, St. Gregory, and of one or two other celebrated doctors of the Church, connected with our own country. That holy pope, explaining the passage of Exodus, xii. 7, concerning the Paschal Lamb, and applying it to the reception of the blessed eucharist, says: "What this blood of the Lamb is, you know not by hearing of it, but by drinking it." (1) In another homily he says: "The good Shepherd has laid down his life for his sheep, by changing his body and blood in our sacrament and filling his sheep with the food of his flesh." (2) He else

(1) Hom. 22 In Evang.

(2) In Evang. l. 1 Hom. 22.

where says: "Who can doubt that at the hour of immolation the heavens are opened at the voice of the priest, and the choirs of angels assist at the mystery of Jesus Christ?" (1) His original biographer, John the deacon, relates that he obtained by his prayers, that a certain lady who doubted of the real presence should see blood instead of wine in the chalice. (2)

This celebrated pope is called *the apostle of England* because, being intent on the conversion of our Pagan ancestors, and detained by force from prosecuting his journey hither to effect it, he sent St. Augustin of Canterbury, and other holy monks, to supply his place in that pious undertaking. That they initiated their converts in the belief of transubstantiation, as well as in other distinguishing tenets of the Catholic religion, is acknowledged by the learned Protestant bishop Bale, the Centuriators, Dr. Humphreys, and other learned Protestants, and is attested by the works of our venerable Bede, in the eighth century, and of our learned countryman, the restorer of literature in France, Alcuin. Among other testimonies to the same purport, the former says expressly: "We believe that the true body of Christ is upon the altar while Mass is celebrated:" and again, "The bread becomes the body of Christ: *for the substance of the bread passes into the body of Christ.*" (3) The latter, who was in high favour with the emperor Charlemagne, declares thus in his *Confession of Faith*, chapter iv. "By the power and the words of Christ it (the eucharist) ever is and ever will be consecrated. The priests perform the function, but Christ operates by the majesty of his divine power. He, by the power of the Paraclete Spirit and his heavenly blessing, perfects those things into his holy body and blood. It is divided into parts, it is whole in all these parts. When manducated by all the people it remains whole and entire." It was during the reign of the abovenamed emperor of the West, and while Constantine and Irene governed the East, namely, in 787, that the second general council of Nice was held against the Iconoclasts, or Image-breakers, in which, according to the vicar, "transubstantiation was first introduced." Just as if it were possible to believe that three hundred and fifty Christian prelates from different countries could agree toge-

(1) Dialg. l. iv. c. 58. (2) Vit. Greg. l. ii. c. 14. (3) Comment
m Boet. De Trinit. "Panis fit corpus Christi; transit enim substantia
panis in corpus Christi." Will not the vicar allow this, at least, to be
transubstantiation.

ther, all of a sudden, and without one dissenting voice among them, or one objection from any other Christian, or even from those Iconoclasts whom they excommunicated, in order "to advance their own credit and authority," to the impious extent that he feigns. (1) However, as the vicar does not choose to give you the arguments and decisions of the second council of Nice, I will here briefly give them to you. It is to be observed, that the Iconoclasts defended their heresy under the pretence that there is no other figure of Christ but the eucharist. In opposition to this the council declares and proves, at great length, that, although *the* eucharist is a figure before consecration, yet after consecration it is *the real body and blood* of Christ, and that neither Christ nor his apostles, nor indeed any of the fathers, ever called it a figure (that is to say, a mere figure, like an image). (2)

I am, dear sir, your's, &c. JOHN MILNER.

PRETENDED RISE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

LETTER XLVI.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Protestant polemics, in general, have very naturally been greatly embarrassed when called upon by Catholic divines to assign the time when the pretended alteration of the faith of the Church in general, and particularly with respect to the grand article of the eucharist, took place, and to name the person or persons by whom the great revolution, extending throughout all Christendom was effected. At first they were shy upon the point, and some of the most learned and celebrated writers among them, as Cartwright, Powel, Whitaker, &c. denied that they were bound to answer those questions. (3) At present, however, it is the custom to say

(1) The vicar's words are these: "The artifice (of making all Christendom, heretics as well as Catholics, believe in transubstantiation) became ultimately successful: for as they blasphemously expressed it: *What* was impossible for those to do, who by uttering a few words could make God?" A blasphemy which no one ever uttered but the vicar himself! (2) *Ὡς προ του αγιασθηναι εκληθη αντιτυπα, μετα δε αγιοσμον σωμα κυριως και αιμα χριστου λεγονται και εισι και πιστευονται.* Labbe Concil. tom. vii. p. 450. (3) "We can neither tell by whom, nor at what time, the enemy did sow your doctrine, neither are we bound to answer at what age superstition crept into the Church" Whitaker contra Dur. Powel's Considerat.

that Pascasius Radbert, a monk of Corby, in Germany, who wrote a book on the sacrament, for the instruction of his novices, about the year 830, invented transubstantiation: or, to use the words of the vicar, gave it "a settled shape." But first, he himself has told us, in a preceding passage, that the second council of Nice, which consisted of three hundred and fifty bishops, had "introduced it," full fifty years before Pascasius wrote, and you have seen, dear sir, in the terms of their decision, that they taught this dogma as clearly as the council of Lateran or Trent did afterwards. Secondly, you have seen in the preceding quotations from the holy fathers, that they uniformly believed it and taught it; from St. Ignatius in the apostolic age down to our venerable Bede, who wrote at the time of the council of Nice, and down to Alcuin, who was contemporary with Pascasius. Finally, I would ask the vicar, or Usher himself, if he were living, to shew by what means it was possible for an obscure monk of Saxony to fascinate all degrees and conditions of Christians from Corby to St. Thomas's on the Malabar coast, and to Axum in Ethiopia, heretics and schismatics, as well as orthodox Catholics, into the belief and worship of the corporal presence of Christ upon the altar, if they had previously believed that he is no way present as to his human nature, but only by "his divine power," and that "for any other presence it is *idolum*," it is "nothing in the world?" Besides this, it is to be considered that within twenty-five years from the date of this monk's treatise, the ambitious and subtle usurper of the see of Constantinople, Photius, contrived to divide the Greek from the Latin Church. Now, though he urged every pretext he could devise to justify this measure, such as its fasting and singing alleluja at wrong times, &c. he never objected to the Western Church its adherence to the doctrine of Pascasius. "But," says the vicar, "that monk proposes his opinion in the way of a paradox—and he never vaunts that his doctrine is that of the Church, and he frankly acknowledges, that before his time men were ignorant of it." I answer that the vicar has let himself be woefully misled in this matter by that false Huguenot, Claude. If he will consult the original work he will find in the dedication of it to king Charles the Bald, that the author asserts, "it is less his own work than that of the Catholic fathers, whose sentiments and doctrine (he says) I have delivered." Accordingly he quotes largely from SS. Cyprian, Ambrose, Hilary, Chrysostom, Jerom, Gregory, Bede, &c. for what he advances; and though he admits that

"some have erred from ignorance in this matter, yet no one (he adds) has yet openly denied *what the whole world believes and confesses.*" (1)

The vicar gives up to me the writers who succeeded Paschasius during the three following centuries in these words. "With respect to those writers who followed up the idea of the bodily presence in the sacrament, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, their authority, although relied upon by Dr. Milner, is to be disregarded, as no other sources of information were open to them than those which we now possess." It would be an injustice however to the subject in hand not to take notice of Berengarius, an ecclesiastic and schoolmaster of Angers, in the middle of the eleventh century, who was the first writer either in the Latin or the Greek Church that formally impugned the Catholic doctrine, derived from the apostles, of Christ's real transubstantiated presence in the blessed eucharist; but as in making this daring attempt, he rose up against the whole Church, so the whole Church may be said to have risen up against him to repress it. Almost every author of name in that age wrote against him, among whom were Hugh, bishop of Langres, Adelman, bishop of Brescia, Guitman, bishop of Aversa, our Lanfrank, archbishop of Canterbury, and Algerus Durandus, while not one writer, that we know of, appeared in his defence, and all the above named authors reproached the innovator with opposing the faith of the whole Christian world. (2) Not fewer than eleven councils were held against his impious novelty, and, like many other heretics, when pressed, he was in the habit of verbally retracting his errors, and then republishing them in other words: some of the forms of retraction prescribed to him in these synods were drawn up in words of uncommon strength and rigour. (3) At length, however, when he found

(1) *Quod totus orbis credit et confiteur.* Epist. ad Frudegar. (2) Lanfrank reproaches him in the following terms, "*Superbia et fastu plenus, contra orbem sentire capisti—Contra Catholicam veritatem, et contra omnium ecclesiarum opinionem scriptum condidisti.*" De Corp. et Sang. c. 4.

(3) Such is that of the Roman council under Pope Nicholas II. which the vicar finds fault with, by which Berengarius was required to acknowledge that *the body of Christ is touched by the hands of the priest, and broken by the teeth of the faithful*, which words, however, as Bossuet remarks, are only to be understood of the exterior species or accidents of the sacrament, just as a man says *I am wet*, or *I am torn*, when only his clothes are wet or torn. The doctrine of the Church in this point is accurately expressed by her in the following words of the sequence in the Mass of Corpus Christi. "*Nulla rei fit scissura; signi tantum fit fractura, qua nec status nec saturatio, signati minuitur.*"

himself upon his death-bed, he made a sincere retraction, and expressed sentiments worthy of a true christian penitent, as they are reported by our faithful historian William of Malmesbury, in the words below. (1) Hence it is not surprising that he should have left no disciples to support his error. In the following, or twelfth century, a most impious and at the same time infamous heresy arose, or rather was propagated from the East, where it had been known ever since the third century, under the name of Manicheism, into the Western Church. Its partisans had many names, but they were more generally called Albigenses. Together with the Catholic doctrine of the eucharist, they rejected other fundamental truths of natural as well as revealed religion, holding, among other diabolical principles, that every sensual gratification is lawful, except that which tends to the propagation of the human species. It was against these monsters that the great Lateran council was held, and the fires of the Inquisition were lighted up. The capital error of Wickliff, who dogmatized in the fourteenth century, was, that dominion is founded in grace, so that, for example, a bishop, a magistrate, or a king, lost all his authority, if he fell into any sin! He likewise rejected transubstantiation, though he held to the Catholic doctrine of the corporal presence. He also died a retractant. Huss, with his disciples, both Taborites and Calixtins, who rose at the beginning of the fifteenth century, differed in no one point from the Catholics respecting the eucharist, except as to the lawfulness of communicating under one kind.

At length we are arrived at the period of the Reformation, falsely so called. The author of it, Luther, who had quarrelled with the pope for condemning his positions concerning indulgences, was infinitely desirous, as he himself tells us, "of getting rid of the real presence," knowing how much

(1) When Berengarius himself was on the point of expiring, on the feast of the Epiphany, the unfortunate persons whom he had corrupted in his younger days and in the first fervour of his sect, rushed into his mind, and he exclaimed, heaving a deep sigh: "Jesus Christ, my God and my Master, will appear to me on this day of his apparition, and will, I hope, make me partaker of his glory, because of my repentance; although I fear at the same time, that he may send me to punishment, because of the impenitence of those whom I have infected with my error. As for myself, being persuaded, both by the authority of the ancient Church, and by so many recent miracles, which we have seen in our days, I believe, that after the benediction of the priest, these mysteries become the true body and blood of the Saviour of the world." *Gesta Anglorum*, l. iii. Berengarius died January 6, 1058, aged 90

this denial would have annoyed the papacy; “but (he added) I found myself caught, the words of scripture being too strong against me.” (1) He therefore satisfied himself with substituting consubstantiation for transubstantiation; that is to say, the real presence of the bread and the real presence of Christ’s body, united together, in one person, Christ our Lord. His followers, however, subdivided themselves, as might be expected, into many different sects, in explaining this doctrine, and these divisions, on the article of the eucharist, became too numerous to be counted up, when Carlostadt, and Zuinglius, and Calvin, and Bucer, and other leaders renounced the real presence, and published their different systems of the sacrament, in defiance of their master Luther, who, as I have already said, “employed sometimes the shafts of his coarse ridicule, and sometimes the thunder of his vehement declamation and anathemas against them.” Cranmer, who, as all writers agree, (2) had the greatest hand, if not the only hand, in drawing up the liturgy of the church of England, was at first a Lutheran, having sucked in the doctrine of Osiander, whose sister he married while he resided in Germany. Accordingly, his first edition of that liturgy, which was sanctioned by parliament in 1547, at the beginning of young Edward’s reign, and even declared, in its act, to have been “concluded upon *by the aid of the Holy Ghost*, (3) expressed the doctrine of the real presence. In short it was the mass itself, with a few alterations. But as that versatile archbishop never had any other principle either of religion or politics, but the will of the ruling power, and as the protector Somerset had, by his correspondence with Calvin, combined with motives of self interest, imbibed much of the latter’s doctrine and spirit, he readily went over to the system of the *figurative presence*, which, accordingly, he expressed in the new liturgy of that reign, sanctioned by parliament in 1552, and in the twenty-ninth of the forty-two articles of the same date. But, whereas Elizabeth, from principle as well as from policy, leaned to the Catholic doctrine and discipline in the article of the eucharist, as well as in several other articles, she took care that the rubric of Edward’s second liturgy, which declares that *It is against the truth of Christ, that his natural body should, at one time, be in more places than one*, should be expunged out of the liturgy, and that the corresponding

(1) Epist. ad Argentin. tom. iv. fol. 502. ed. Witten. (2) Heylin, Brevet, Dr. Tomline, &c. (3) Burnet, Hist. of Ref. P. ii. p. 93.

article should be softened down to its present consistency. So the liturgy remained for a hundred years, till, upon the Restoration the expunged rubric above mentioned was again restored. Let us now hear the reverend vicar's account of these matters, by way of proving that all these changes were no changes at all, but only stages of "successive improvement—each one of which brought the whole nearer to the state of perfection for which (he says) we so justly admire it." "It is granted (by the vicar) that our first liturgy, in 1548, expressed, as might naturally be expected, the Popish idea of the real presence. But, in its next revision, in 1552, a rubric was added denying this tenet. Queen Elizabeth, however, who had not yet imbibed the pure spirit of Christianity, expunged it in 1559, her design being to unite the nation in one faith. The *contrivance* had the desired effect as the Popish laity continued in connexion with the church of England for ten years. In 1661 the old anti-popish rubric was restored. These stages mark the successive improvement (of the liturgy!)." Here are four different changes in the articles of the eucharist, namely, from Popery to Protestantism, then back again to Popery, and, lastly, once more to Protestantism: and yet, according to the vicar, there was *no change at all!* And what is most extraordinary, the changes to Popery are, according to the vicar's account, no less *successive improvements* than those to Protestantism are! I say nothing of Elizabeth's "*contrivance*," which the vicar speaks of with approbation, for tricking the Catholics out of their religion, by making them believe that the established church in its liturgy and articles, admits of the corporal presence and transubstantiation, except to express a stronger detestation of fraud than of force, in every attempt to procure conformity with the state religion. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign I read of fifty-three Catholic gentlemen, who were prisoners in York castle, merely for refusing to attend the established service, being dragged by main force into the castle chapel every Sunday for a year together, to hear that service; but did this make Church-Protestants of them? The same question may be asked the reverend Mr. Grier and the bishop of St. David's, who both allege the fact in question, with respect to those among the Catholics who, at the beginning of the same reign, went to their parish churches on Sundays, to avoid the fines and imprisonment consequent on their recusancy. Did this occasional conformity make them good churchmen, while they were careful to hear Mass at their own houses beforehand,

as I have proved to have been their custom? No doubt they acted wrong in their compliance, and accordingly they desisted from it when they were so instructed by a committee of the council of Trent.

I have not yet noticed the exceptions which the vicar takes to my quotations from and references to certain Protestant bishops and divines, who either acquit the Catholics of idolatry, in worshipping the blessed sacrament, or who themselves maintained Christ's real presence in it. With respect to these writers in general, I have again to remark, that if they wrote and acted inconsistently, it is not my business, nor did I ever undertake to reconcile them with themselves. It is enough for me that they made the concessions I quote from them; had they throughout supported the Catholic doctrines, they would have been Catholics, not Protestants, and could not have kept their livings. Thus, for example, I cited Gunning, bishop of Ely, who, when the *declaration against Popery* was brought into the House of Lords, protested he could not swear that Catholics are idolaters. The vicar is forced to confess the fact, but says that the bishop by taking the oath, after the act enjoining it had passed, "sealed his conviction" that they are idolaters. This would prove that all our legislators, who make the declaration at the present day, believe Catholics to be idolaters, contrary to their own public testimony. With respect to Gunning, it only proves that he could not afford to part with his bishopric. I will add nothing more to what I have said concerning bishop Taylor, except that no English Protestant, who is zealous for the credit of his church, ought ever to mention his name without an apology for so doing. As to bishop Cozin, the vicar is forced to acknowledge that he says all I have quoted from him, which is to say, all that completely overturns his (the vicar's) definitions of the sacrament. If it were necessary to prove that the other Protestant bishops, Laud, Andrews and Bramhall, held the doctrine of the real presence, the only article for which I cited them, the vicar has done this to my hand in the passages he has cited from them. All then that I shall add on the subject is, that if the vicar had lived in their time, and had reduced the presence of Christ in the eucharist, as he does in his reply, to mere *ubiquity*, which implies that he is no otherwise present in it, than he is in every other piece of bread, or than he is in a pagan idol, they would have unanimously exclaimed with bishop Cozin: "We ought not to suffer such an one in our church." In conclusion, the vicar is reduced to the Jewish objections, drawn from the senses.

all which I have refuted by sound arguments of metaphysics and physics, as well as by the scriptures and the antient fathers. He admits that each of the senses may separately deceive us; "But," says he, "let Dr. Milner furnish us with an instance where both sight and touch have, at the same time, been so imposed upon." And yet, strange to tell, but two lines before the challenge, he himself mentioned an instance which I quoted, in which not only the sight and the touch, but the hearing also were deceived; namely, when Jacob wrestled and conversed with an angel, Gen. xxxii. 24. In a word, my antagonist is at last constrained to admit, that Christ's power to perform the miracle spoken of (that of changing bread into his body) is unquestioned. Here then all his own and Tillotson's objections, drawn from the senses, fall to the ground, and transubstantiation is allowed to be possible. Full of faith then, as I hope that you and your associates are, that this great mystery is not only possible, but also that it actually takes place in our awful sacrifice, you will not fail to reject all such objections to it as the Jews made of old, when they said: *How can he give us his flesh? This is a hard saying; who can hear it?* by addressing yourselves to the Divine Institutor of it, in the words of St. Peter: *Lord, to whom shall we go!* Thou hast the words of eternal life. John, vi. 96. I am, your's, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

COMMUNION UNDER ONE KIND.

LETTER XLVII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—I trust you have not forgotten what I demonstrated in the first part of our correspondence, that the Catholic Church was formed and instructed in its divine doctrine and rites, and especially in its sacraments and sacrifice, before any part of the New Testament was published, and whole centuries before the entire New Testament was collected and pronounced by her to be authentic and inspired. Indeed Protestants are forced to have recourse to the *tradition of the Church*, for determining a great number of points which are left doubtful by the sacred text; particularly with respect to the two sacraments which they acknowledge. From the doctrine and practice of the Church alone they learn, that

although Christ, our patron, was baptized in a river, Mark i. 9, and the Ethiopian eunuch was led by St. Philip *into the water*, Acts, viii. 38, for the same purpose, the application of it by infusion or aspersion is valid; and that, although Christ says: *He that BELIEVETH and is baptized shall be saved*, Mark, xvi. 16, infants are susceptible of the benefits of baptism who are incapable of making an act of faith. In like manner, respecting the eucharist, it is from the doctrine and practice of the Church alone Protestants learn that, though Christ communicated the apostles at an evening supper, after they had feasted on a lamb and their feet had been washed, a ceremony which he appears to enjoin on that occasion with the utmost strictness, *John*, xiii. 8, 15, none of these rites are essential to that ordinance, or necessary to be practised at present. With what pretension to consistency then can they reject her doctrine and practice in the remaining particulars of this mysterious institution? A clear exposition of the institution itself, and of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, concerning the controversy in question, will afford the best answer to the objections raised against the latter.

It is true that our blessed Saviour instituted the holy eucharist under two kinds; but it must be observed that he then made it a *sacrifice* as well as a *sacrament*, and that he ordained *priests*, namely, his twelve apostles (for none else but they were present on the occasion), to consecrate this sacrament and offer this sacrifice. Now, for the latter purpose, namely, a *sacrifice*, it was requisite that the victim should be really present and at least mystically immolated; which was then, and is still, performed in the Mass, by the symbolical disunion or separate consecration of the body and the blood. It was requisite, also, for the completion of the *sacrifice*, that the priests, who had immolated the victim, by mystically separating its body and its blood, should consummate it in both these kinds. Hence it is seen, that the command of Christ, on which our opponents lay so much stress, *drink ye all of this*, regards the apostles, *as priests*, and not the laity, as communicants. (1) True it is, that when Christ promised this sacrament to the faithful in general, he promised,

(1) The acute apologist of the Quakers has observed, how inconclusively Protestants argue from the words of the institution. He says: "I would gladly know how from the words, they can be certainly resolved that these words (*Do this*) must be understood of the clergy. Take, bless, and break this bread, and give it to others; out to the laity only: Take and eat, but do not bless," &c.—*Barclay's Apology*, Prop. xiii. p. 7.

in express terms, both his body and his blood, *John*, vi. : but this does not imply that they must therefore receive them under the different appearances of bread and wine. For as the council of Trent teaches : "He who said : *Unless you shall eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you*, has likewise said ; *If any one shall eat of this bread he shall live for ever*. And he who has said : *Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting*, has also said : *The bread which I will give, is my flesh, for the life of the world*. And lastly, he who has said : *He who eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him* : has nevertheless said : *He who eateth this bread shall live for ever.*" (1)

The truth is, dear sir, after all the reproaches of the bishop of Durham concerning our alleged sacrilege, *in suppressing half a sacrament*, and the general complaint of Protestants, of our *robbing the laity of the cup of salvation*, (2) that the precious body and blood, being *equally and entirely* present under each species, is *equally and entirely* given to the faithful, whichever they receive : whereas the Calvinist and Anglicans do not so much as pretend to *communicate either the real body or the blood* ; but present mere types or memorials of them. I do not deny, that in their mere figurative system, there may be some reason for receiving the liquid as well as the solid substance, since the former may appear to represent more aptly the blood, and the latter the body ; but to us Catholics, who possess the *reality* of them both, their species or outward appearance is no more than a matter of changeable discipline.

It is the sentiment of the great lights of the Church, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, St. Jerom, &c. and seems clear from the text, that when Christ, on the day of his resurrection, *took bread, and blessed and brake, and gave it to Cleophas and the other disciple, whose guest he was at Emmaus, on his doing which their eyes were opened, and they knew him, and he vanished out of their sight*, Luke, xxiv. 30, 31 he administered the holy communion to them under the form of bread alone. In like manner, it is written of the baptized converts of Jerusalem, that *they were persevering in the doctrine of the apostles, and in the communication of the BREAKING OF BREAD, and in prayer*, Acts, ii. 42 :

(1) Sess. xxi. c. 1. (2) Conformably to the above doctrine, neither our priests nor our bishops receive under more than one kind, when they do not offer up the holy sacrifice

and of the religious meeting at Troas : *on the first day of the week, when we were assembled to BREAK BREAD*, Acts, xx. 7, without any mention of the other species. These passages plainly signify, that the apostles were accustomed, sometimes at least, to give the sacrament under one kind alone, though bishop Porteus has not the candour to confess it. Another more important passage for communion under either kind, he entirely overlooks, where the apostle says : *Whosoever shall eat this bread, OR drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord.* (1) True it is that, in the English bible, the text is here corrupted, the conjunctive AND being put for the disjunctive OR, contrary to the original Greek, as well as to the Latin vulgate, to the version of Beza, &c. but as his lordship could not be ignorant of this corruption, and the importance of the genuine text, it is inexcusable in him to have passed it over unnoticed.

The whole series of ecclesiastical history proves, that the Catholic Church, from the time of the apostles down to the present, ever firmly believing that the whole body, blood, soul, and divinity of Jesus Christ equally subsist under each of the species or appearances of bread and wine, regarded it as a mere matter of discipline which of them was to be received in the holy sacrament. It appears from Tertullian in the second century, (2) from St. Dennis of Alexandria (3) and St. Cyprian (4) in the third ; from St. Basil (5) and St. Chrysostom in the fourth, &c. (6) that the blessed sacrament, under the form of bread, was preserved in the oratories

(1) *Πρωτη*, or *drink*, 1 Cor. xi. 27. The Rev. Mr. Grier, who has attempted to vindicate the purity of the English Protestant bible, has nothing else to say for this alteration of St. Paul's epistle, than that in what they falsely call "the parallel texts of Luke and Matthew," the conjunctive *and* occurs ! *Grier's Answer to Ward's Errata*, p. 13. I may here notice the horrid and notorious misrepresentation of the Catholic doctrine concerning the eucharist, of which two church dignitaries are guilty in their publications. The bishop of Lincoln says : "Papists contend that the mere receiving of the Lord's supper merits the remission of sin, *ex opere operato*, as it were mechanically, whatever may be the character or disposition of the communicants." *Elem. of Theol* vol. ii. p. 491. Dr. Hey repeats the charge in nearly the same words. *Lectures*, vol. iv. p. 355. What Catholic will not lift up his hands in amazement at the grossness of this calumny, knowing as he does, from his catechism and all his books, what purity of soul, and how much greater preparation, is required for the reception of our sacrament, than Protestants require for receiving theirs. See Concil. Trid. Sess. xiii. c. 7. Cat. Rom. Douay Catech. &c. (2) *Ad Uxor.* l. ii. (3) *Apud. Euseb.* l. iv. c. 44. (4) *De Lapsis.* (5) *Epist. ad Cesar.* (6) *Apud. Soz.* l. viii. c. 5.

and houses of the primitive Christians, for private communion, and for the viaticum in danger of death. There are instances also of its being carried on the breast, at sea, in the orarium or neckcloth. (1) On the other hand, as it was the custom to give the blessed sacrament to baptized children, it was administered to those who were quite infants by a drop out of the chalice. (2) On the same principle, it being discovered in the fifth century, that certain Manichæan heretics, who had come to Rome from Africa, objected to the sacramental cup, from an erroneous and wicked opinion, pope Leo ordered them to be excluded from the communion entirely; (3) and pope Gelasius required all his flock to receive under both kinds. (4) It appears that, in the twelfth century, only the officiating priests and infants received under the form of wine; which discipline was confirmed at the beginning of the fifteenth century by the council of Constance. (5) on account of the profanations and other evils resulting from the general reception of it in that form. Soon after this, the more orderly sect of the Hussites, namely the Calixtins, professing their obedience to the Church in other respects, and petitioning the council of Basil to be indulged in the use of the chalice, this was granted them. (6) In like manner, pope Pius IV. at the request of the emperor Ferdinand, authorized several bishops of Germany to allow the use of the cup to those persons of their respective dioceses who desired it. (7) The French kings, since the reign of Philip, have had the privilege of receiving under both kinds at their coronation and at their death. (8) The officiating deacon and sub-deacon of St. Dennis, and all the monks of the order of Cluni, who serve the altar, enjoy the same. (9)

From the above statement bishop Porteus will learn, if not that the manner of receiving the sacrament under one or the other kind, or under both kinds, is a mere matter of variable

(1) St. Ambros. In obit. Frat. It appears also that Birinus, the apostle of the West Saxons, brought the blessed sacrament with him into this island in an orarium. Gul. Malm. Vit. Pontif. Florent. Wigorn. Higden, &c. (2) St. Cypr. de Laps. . (3) Sermo iv. de Quadrag. (4) Decret. Comperimus Dist. iii. (5) Dr. Porteus, Dr. Coomber, Kemnitius, &c. accuse this council of decreeing that "*notwithstanding* (for so they express it) our Saviour ministered in both kinds, one only shall in future be administered to the laity:" as if the council opposed its authority to that of Christ, whereas it barely defines that *some circumstances of the institution* (namely, that it took place *after supper*, that the apostles received *without being fasting*, and that *both species were consecrated*) are not obligatory on all Christians. See Can. xiii. (6) Sess ii. (7) Mem. Granv. t. xiii. Odorhainal. (8) Annal. Fagi. (9) Nat. Alex. t. i. p. 430.

discipline, at least that the doctrine and the practice of the Catholic Church is consistent with each other. I am now going to produce evidence of another kind, which, after all his and the bishop of Durham's anathemas against us, on account of this doctrine and discipline, will demonstrate that, conformably with the declarations of the three principal dominations of Protestants, either the point at issue is a *mere matter of discipline*, or else, that they are *utterly inconsistent in themselves*.

To begin with Luther: he reproaches his disciple Carlos-tadt, who in his absence had introduced some new religious changes at Wittenberg, with having "placed Christianity in things of no account, such as *communicating under both kinds*," &c. (1) On another occasion, he writes: "if a council did ordain or permit *both kinds*; in spite of the council we would take but *one*, or take neither, and curse those who should take both." (2) Secondly, the Calvinists of France, in their synod at Poitiers in 1560, decreed thus: "the *bread* of our Lord's supper ought to be administered to those who *cannot drink wine*, on their making a protestation that they do not refrain from contempt." (3) Lastly, by separate acts of that parliament and that king, who established the Protestant religion in England, and, by name, communion in both kinds, it is provided that the latter should only be *commonly so delivered and ministered*, and an exception is made in case "*necessity* did otherwise require." (4) Now I need not observe that, if the use of the cup were, *by the appointment of Christ*, an *essential* part of the sacrament, no necessity can ever be pleaded in bar of that appointment, and men might as well pretend to celebrate the eucharist without bread as without wine, (5) or to confer the sacrament of baptism without water. The dilemma is inevitable. Either the ministration of the sacrament under one or under both kinds is a matter of changeable discipline, or each of the three principal denominations of Protestants has contradicted itself. I should be glad to know which part of the alternative his lordship may choose. I am, your's, &c. JOHN MILNER.

(1) Epist. ad Gasp. Gustol. (2) Form. Miss. t. ii. pp. 384; 386
 (3) On the Lord's Supper, c. iii. p. 7. (4) Burnet's Hist. of Reform
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GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

 LETTER XLVIII.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—Nothing can sound more extraordinary than complaints and reproaches against the Catholic Church, of having “sacrilegiously taken away *half* of that sacrament,” on the part of persons who themselves have taken away the *whole* of it! Christ being whole and entire, as to his body, his blood, his soul, and his divinity in the blessed eucharist, and under each species of it, the faithful equally receive Christ whole and entire, whether they receive him under the form of bread, or under the form of wine, whether under one kind or under both; whereas the vicar, with the prelates he quotes, acknowledging no presence of Christ in the sacrament, except as to the *ubiquity* of his divine nature, and no participation of Christ except by “an act of the mind,” it is evident that, in this supposition, the whole sacrament is destroyed, and nothing but an imagination of eating, and a mere ideal food, is left in place of the reality which Catholics receive.

The fundamental doctrine of Christ’s real and corporal presence in the blessed sacrament having been clearly proved from scripture, the fathers, the testimony of the infallible Church, and even from that of all heretics and schismatics, till within the three last centuries; in like manner, it having been clearly proved that after those *words of Christ* of which you have heard the ancient fathers speak such great things, namely, the words of consecration, *there is no bread nor wine* but only the *species* or *accidents*, as they are called, left in the sacrament, and that Christ, whole and entire, exists in their place; it is an evident consequence, that the *mode of receiving* him in this sacrament is merely accidental and immaterial, as far as regards the effect of it. Hence the person who receives under the form of bread, receives exactly the same as another does who receives under the form of wine, and he who receives under both kinds receives nothing more than he who receives under either kind: for he can receive nothing more than Jesus Christ whole and entire. Hence it follows, likewise, from the nature of the thing itself, as well as from the tradition and the declarations of the Church, that the point in question, namely, the manner of receiving Christ in the blessed sacrament, whether under one or under both

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DEAR SIR,—Nothing can sound more extraordinary than complaints and reproaches against the Catholic Church, of having “sacrilegiously taken away *half* of that sacrament,” on the part of persons who themselves have taken away the *whole* of it! Christ being whole and entire, as to his body, his blood, his soul, and his divinity in the blessed eucharist, and under each species of it, the faithful equally receive Christ whole and entire, whether they receive him under the form of bread, or under the form of wine, whether under one kind or under both; whereas the vicar, with the prelates he quotes, acknowledging no presence of Christ in the sacrament, except as to the *ubiquity* of his divine nature, and no participation of Christ except by “an act of the mind,” it is evident that, in this supposition, the whole sacrament is destroyed, and nothing but an imagination of eating, and a mere ideal food, is left in place of the reality which Catholics receive.

The fundamental doctrine of Christ’s real and corporal presence in the blessed sacrament having been clearly proved from scripture, the fathers, the testimony of the infallible Church, and even from that of all heretics and schismatics, till within the three last centuries; in like manner, it having been clearly proved that after those *words of Christ* of which you have heard the ancient fathers speak such great things, namely, the words of consecration, *there is no bread nor wine* but only the *species* or *accidents*, as they are called, left in the sacrament, and that Christ, whole and entire, exists in their place; it is an evident consequence, that the *mode of receiving* him in this sacrament is merely accidental and immaterial, as far as regards the effect of it. Hence the person who receives under the form of bread, receives exactly the same as another does who receives under the form of wine, and he who receives under both kinds receives nothing more than he who receives under either kind: for he can receive nothing more than Jesus Christ whole and entire. Hence it follows, likewise, from the nature of the thing itself, as well as from the tradition and the declarations of the Church, that the point in question, namely, the manner of receiving Christ in the blessed sacrament, whether under one or under both

kinds, is a matter of variable discipline, to be regulated by the Church according to existing circumstances. My letter shews that very many things relating to the sacraments, both of baptism and the blessed eucharist, are and must be determined by the tradition of the Church. From this we learn, that though Christ instituted the latter sacrament, after washing the feet of the apostles, in azyme or unleavened bread, at supper, after eating a paschal lamb, the whole company being in a recumbent posture, yet that none of these circumstances regards the essence of the sacrament, or is obligatory on Christians at present. It is this same tradition which informs us, that the mode of receiving Christ in the blessed eucharist, whether under this or under that kind, whether under one kind or under both, is of its own nature indifferent, and to be determined at all times by the Church, as in fact it always has been so determined by her: this explanation causes the vicar to run into a long and very inconsistent dissertation on the subject of tradition, in which, following Dr. Marsh, he admits of a *tradition of ceremonies*, things variable according to times and places, and rejects the *tradition of doctrine*, which must be in all times and places invariable. But to confine myself to the present point; the vicar denies that the church of England has been guided by the tradition of any church whatever respecting the circumstances of it, and maintains that "it uses its own discretion" concerning them. "It retains (he says) what is *essential to the sacrament*, while it has widely omitted such circumstances as would be useless, inconvenient, or impossible to be complied with. It performs the sacramental action in the way commanded by Christ, when he said: DO THIS, by *blessing bread and eating it*, by *blessing wine and drinking it*, in remembrance of him. *In this consists the essence of the sacrament of the eucharist*; and to the punctual observance of it the church of England is scrupulously attentive; while it omits circumstances in themselves indifferent, such as the washing of feet, the time, place, and manner of receiving."

Without stopping, dear sir, to shew you how the vicar here *begs the question*, by assuming that his church *retains what is essential* to the sacrament, or to expose the absurdities implied by his definition of *the essential part* of it, I proceed to inquire into the truth of what he here and elsewhere so confidently asserts, that this church *used its discretion* in adopting this and the other changes which took place in the ancient religion. His account of these changes would lead an ignorant person to suppose that a national

synod was held upon the business, at least that the bishops and clergy, after deep study and mutual conferences, had come to unanimous resolutions concerning it: whereas, in fact, the whole of it was carried on at the different periods of its progress by the mere act and will of the ruling powers in the state, not only without their being consulted about it, but, generally speaking, in direct opposition to their judgment and decision. The sensual tyrant Henry struck the first blow by abrogating the pope's spiritual power, and requiring his bishops and clergy to swear that he himself was **THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH**. In vain did they petition him to be allowed to annex this condition to their oath of his spiritual supremacy: *as far as is allowable by the law of God.* (1) Armed with this irresistible weapon of the supremacy, the uncle and protector of the royal youth, Edward VI who was then only nine years of age, Seymour, duke of Somerset, proceeded to make whatever changes of the national religion which suited his avarice and ambition, by means of injunctions and royal visitations, which he, in the king's name, set on foot, and to which the bishops and clergy were as much subjected as the meanest layman. Some of the former he imprisoned for disobedience to this his spiritual supremacy, and one of them he sent to the Fleet goal, for refusing to preach a sermon, the heads of which he sent him for that purpose. (2) In the mean time, the second order of clergy petitioned, to no purpose, that "no law might pass concerning the Christian religion, &c. without their privacy." (3) In short, says Fuller, "He (Somerset) ordered all things in church and state." (4) Having soon after, by the agency of sir Ralph Sadler, packed a parliament for his purposes, (5) he made it his tool in the different and sometimes opposite religious changes that it suited him to make. (6) One of the first acts of this servile assembly was to ordain that the sacrament should be administered in both kinds; which being done, Somerset issued a proclamation, in the name of the royal child, which enjoined obedience, not only on this point, but also in general, that "the sacrament (he says) be

(1) "In quantum per Christi licet. Mat. Parker, *Antiq. Britan.* p. 325. (2) Burnet. *Rec. P. ii. N. 28.* Collier's *Ch. Hist. P. ii. p. 250.* (3) Burnet's *Records, P. ii. N. 17.* (4) *Ch. Hist. b. vii. p. 372.* (5) Heylin's *Hist. Ref. p. 47.* (6) Heylin complains heavily of the interference of Calvin with the English church, by his letters to the Protector. This led to a further reformation, as it was called, and quite a different liturgy, 1550, from that of 1548, in framing both which Cranmer was almost solely employed.

ministered unto our people only after such form and manner as hereafter, *by our authority*, is set forth." He concludes: "We would not have our subjects so much to mislike our judgment, or so much to mistrust our zeal, as though we could not discern what were to be done," &c. (1) Such was the vicar's boasted *discretion* of his church, with respect to the choice of its rites and forms in the administration of the sacraments. No doubt there was a churchman of the highest rank, the unhappy Cranmer, who was Somerset's tool in all these changes; but then he was *nothing else but a tool*, in this and every other measure, religious as well as political, of the varying times in which he lived. We are possessed of his formal declaration, that a bishop is nothing else but the king's officer, to obey his orders in all ecclesiastical matters, just as a state officer is in those of a civil nature, (2) in conformity with which declaration, on the death of Henry, he took out a fresh commission to exercise the office of archbishop from the child Edward, or rather from his uncle Somerset, during his good pleasure; (3) and the whole tenor of his life, from his first appearance at Cambridge till his melancholy death at Oxford, was conducted on that time-serving principle, (4) Nor was the case dissimilar at the second establish-

(1) Bishop Sparrow's Collect. p. 17. (2) Collier's Hist. Records, ex. MSS. Stillingfleet, p. 48. (3) Burnet's Hist. Records, P. ii. N. ii. (4) Archbishop Cranmer having been the principal author of the articles, the liturgy, and the reformation, as it is called, of the church of England, and his memory being immoderately extolled by the vicar on this account, it is proper to take the following facts into consideration for forming a true judgment of him. He first rose to notice, while a student at Cambridge, by declaring for the divorce of queen Catharine, and suggesting that, to promote this, the opinion of the different universities should be procured on the point, *whether a marriage with a brother's widow is not contrary to the law of God?* This suggestion made his worldly fortune: Henry followed it up by sending to different universities his envoys and his *angels* (*pieces of money so called*) swearing, at the same time, that "Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear." Going himself into Germany on the divorce business, Cranmer there became a Lutheran, and took for his second wife Osiander's sister, whom, however, being a priest, and the law of celibacy still existing in England, he could not bring into it out as a smuggled article, and therefore stowed her in a large box. In 1532 he was named by Henry to the see of Canterbury, and, at his consecration said Mass, and swore obedience to the Pope, in direct opposition to his religious principles. In like manner he signed Henry's Six Articles against Protestantism, obliging his clergy to do the same, and to vow celibacy, when any of them were ordained, though he never observed it, nor believed in the articles himself. He even published books in defence of transubstantiation, and persecuted the Protestants who denied it, even to the extremity of death at the stake, during the whole lifetime of his royal master. On the 14th of November, 1532, he assisted as a witness of the marriage of the

ment of Protestantism by Elizabeth. She began with turning all the bishops and most respectable clergymen out of their

king with Ann Boleyn; and on the 11th of the following March, he wrote a formal letter to the former, moved thereto, as he declared, "by pure motives of conscience," in which he represented the necessity there was of terminating the long pending cause between him and his queen, and demanded of him the necessary *spiritual power* to pronounce upon it. Having obtained a commission to this effect, on the 20th of May he issued a sentence of divorce between the king and the queen, authorizing the king to marry again, six months after he had witnessed his marriage with Ann Boleyn, and not four months before the latter was delivered of an infant, who became the famous queen Elizabeth! The tyrant growing jealous or weary of his bride, Cranmer acted the infamous part of extorting from her a confession of what he had before proved to be false, namely, that she had never been validly married to Henry, on account of a pre-contract, and this at the very time when she was lying under sentence of death for *adultery* in his regard! (Burnet, Collier, &c.) The king's fourth wife was Ann of Cleves, concerning whom, as there was some question of her being under a pre-contract, Cranmer was formally commissioned to inquire into it, when he officially pronounced that no such contract existed. However, as the king within six months became disgusted with this his foreign wife, Cranmer was again commissioned to examine the business, when, in compliance with the tyrant's will, he decided the contract was valid, and that the king was free to take a fifth wife! On the death of Henry, he concurred, as an executor, in setting aside the greater part of his will, and became as abject a tool to the ambition and avarice of Somerset, as he had been to the lust of Henry. To gratify these, he subscribed the death warrant of Somerset's brother, Thomas Seymour, lord admiral, who was a mere victim of political intrigue, though he, Cranmer, was exempt, by his ecclesiastical character, from the necessity of concurring in such a sanguinary sentence; and with equal pliancy, when Dudley, earl of Warwick, gained the mastery, he set his hand to the warrant that consigned Somerset himself to the block! He even took a principal part in the treason of abrogating the eventual right of king Henry's children, Mary and Elizabeth, to the crown, and transferring it to Dudley's son and daughter-in-law, lady Jane. As he had, in Henry's reign, brought John Lambert, Ann Askew, John Frith, William Allen and other Protestants to the stake for denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, so he manifested the same intolerance with regard to other Protestants, whose ideas of the reformation went further than his own, during the reign of Edward. He even constrained the royal child Edward, in spite of his tears and expostulations, to sign the death warrant of Joan Knell, a harmless visionary, and George Parr, an anabaptist, who were burnt at the stake. Early in this reign, he had himself sung a high Mass of Requiem for the soul of the deceased French king, than which nothing could be more contrary to his professed doctrine; and even after the death of Edward he offered to do the same for the soul of the latter to please queen Mary, which was a complete revocation of his forty-two articles and second liturgy. Being brought to his trial for treason and heresy, he signed six different forms of recanting the whole Protestant religion, each stronger than the preceding one, at the same number of times, during the last two months of his life, and thus was, until within an hour of his death, either a sincere Catholic or an egregious hypocrite! Strype's Mem. Eccl. Vol. iii. p. 234.

places; and, if she allowed their successors to deliberate about the doctrines and rites of religion, she claimed and exercised absolute authority in revising and correcting their determinations. We have, in Burnet's Exposition of the Articles, a catalogue of alterations which she made even in these; after they had been discussed and resolved upon by the convocation. Finally, the vicar himself gives up Elizabeth's reformation, upon the very point under consideration, where he says, that "she had not yet imbibed the pure spirit of Christianity which had guided her youthful predecessor and the venerable Cranmer."

Bent, however, on blackening the fair spouse of Christ, the vicar represents one of her general councils, that of Constance, as "openly opposing its authority to that of the Divine Founder of the institution." "it set out (he says) with acknowledging that Christ instituted and administered the blessed sacrament to his disciples in both kinds, and that in the primitive Church the faithful received it in both kinds; yet, a practice being reasonably introduced, to avoid some dangers and scandals they (the Catholic bishops) appoint the custom of consecrating it in both kinds, and of giving it to the laity only in one kind, since Christ is truly and entire under each kind." Had not the vicar fraudulently suppressed the first words of the decree, his mouth would have been shut, and he could not have quoted any part of it against us Catholics, as his own doctrine and practice would have *appeared* to be no less opposite to the divine institution than he represents ours to be. In fact, the first decision in this decree is, that though Christ instituted "the sacrament *after supper*, yet that this is no reason why *we should not receive it fasting*," a conclusion in which Protestants are forced to join us. (1) Nay, we have just now heard the vicar himself setting up a general claim for his church, of "using its own discretion" with respect to the sacramental ceremonies, and of "omitting such circumstances as (*it judges*) would be useless, inconvenient, or impossible;" such as the use of unleavened bread, which it is unquestionable Christ made use

(1) The same fraudulent suppression marks the vicar's quotation from the council of Trent on this matter, in his reply. For at the same time that the council teaches that Christ's *body* exists in the sacrament, under the appearance of *bread*, and his *blood* under the appearance of *wine*, in virtue of the words of consecration, EX VI VERBORUM, it also teaches that in virtue of *concomitancy*, or the natural union of the body with the blood, the *body* is also present under the appearance of *wine*, and the *blood* under that of *bread*. Sess. xiii. cap. 2.

of at the last supper, and the washing of feet, which he seems to have so strictly enjoined. (1) The only difference between the two churches is, that the church of England, according to the vicar's account, *disclaims* the light and authority of tradition, in choosing what ordinances and ceremonies it will omit and retain; while the Catholic Church knows, and has always known, that the blessed eucharist is a sacrifice as well as a sacrament; that as *a sacrifice*, it must necessarily be consecrated in both kinds, to represent his death; but as *a sacrament*, the whole body and blood of Christ being as much contained under one kind as under both, it belongs to her to determine, according to circumstances, in which of these ways Christ shall be received by the faithful. Had the vicar and his lordship of Durham attended to the doctrine and conduct of the Oriental churches, which retain the double communion, with respect to the discipline of the Catholic Church in this matter, or even to the legislative act of this kingdom, which first prescribed the general use of the sacrament under both kinds, they would certainly have abstained from the epithets of *impious* and *sacrilegious*, which they profanely apply to the reception of it in the Catholic Church. Those Oriental churches, while they disputed with the Latin church about the use of fermented or unfermented bread, never objected to her the practice of receiving under one kind, nor does the Latin church object to them their two-fold communion: (2) it being mutually understood that, as Christ is *truly and really received* in the sacrament, the *mode* of receiving him is a mere point of variable discipline. On the other hand, the act of 1st Edward VI. after enacting that the blessed sacrament be hereafter *commonly* delivered and ministered under both kinds, *if necessity does not require, as in case of sudden sickness, &c.*," adds, "this practice should not be construed to the condemning of any other church or churches, in which the contrary is observed." (3) It has been shewn in my previous letter that both the Lutherans and Calvinists allowed of the single communion, in certain cases, no less than the church of England by the above-mentioned act did. This being so, how intemperate, I say again, are the bishop of Durham's anathemas in one of his charges against the pretended *impiety* and *sacrilege* of the Catholic Church, on

(1) *If I, being your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, you ought also to wash one another's feet.* John, xiv. 14. (2) Even at Rome the pope's colleges and convents of Greeks are not only permitted, but also required to follow the discipline of their own country, as well in point of communion as of other points. (3) See Heylin's Hist. Ref. p. 49.

account of her discipline in this matter! and how absurd is the vicar's reasoning in justification of them!

I cited in my last letter, the conduct of our Divine Saviour, on the day of his resurrection, with respect to Cleophas and the other disciple, at Emmaus. *He took bread and blessed and brake it, and gave it to them: and their eyes were opened and they knew him, and he vanished out of their sight—and they went back to Jerusalem and told the Apostles* HOW THEY KNEW HIM IN THE BREAKING OF BREAD. (1) This action of Christ I cited, after SS. Augustin and Chrysostom, &c. as an instance of his having himself dispensed the holy communion under the form of *bread alone*. In the whole of these circumstances, however, the vicar can discover nothing else, but that Christ gave a piece of common bread, without meaning any thing thereby, to the disciples whose guest he was. He quite forgets, however, to shew how these disciples could *know Christ merely by giving them a piece of common bread!* In like manner, where the same evangelist writes, that the three thousand converts of St. Peter were *persevering in the doctrine of the apostles, and in the communication of* THE BREAKING OF BREAD, *and in prayers*, (2) he would have us believe that nothing more is meant, than that this numerous and fervent company persevered in believing what the apostles told them in *eating together* and in praying! In just the same manner the vicar tries to turn the assembly of the church of Troas, on *the first day of the week* (Sunday) *to break bread*, and to hear St. Paul preach, (3) into a mere convivial party for corporal refectation!

Previously to my further inquiry into the discipline of the Church in ancient times, respecting the manner of receiving the blessed eucharist, it is necessary that I should remind you, dear sir, that the question is not whether the sacrament was or was not frequently or even generally received in both kinds; but whether it was so received as *necessary for the reception both of the body and the blood of Christ*, and therefore so received at all times and under all circumstances? For if it should be proved that the fathers of the Church, at any time, or in any case, approved of its being received under one kind alone, the vicar's and the bishop of Durham's charge of impiety and sacrilege against the Church falls to the ground, as far at least as concerns the fathers and the ancient Church. The vicar first quotes cardinal Bona, to

(1) Luke xiii. 33, 34, 35.

(2) Acts, ii. 42.

(3) Acts, xx. 7.

prove that "from the origin of the Church down to the twelfth age, the faithful, at all times, and in every place, communicated under the species of bread and wine." But, to say nothing of the numerous exceptions from this rule, which the cardinal subsequently makes or admits of, some of which will be mentioned below, the vicar is guilty of an unpardonable infidelity in omitting the broad distinction which cardinal Bona makes, in the page from which he quotes, between *public communion* in the solemnity of the Mass, and *private communion* out of the church and the mysteries. "For it is certain," says he, "that the clergy and laity, men and women, received the sacred mysteries under both kinds, when they were present at the solemnization of them, and made their offering and partook of the oblation. But *out of the sacrifice and the church, always and every where the communion was in use under one kind.*" (1) A more dishonourable instance of garbling an authority quoted than the one here pointed out cannot perhaps be found. but you clearly see that it did not suit the vicar to quote the passage fairly, for other reasons than the testimony which the ecclesiastical antiquary bears to the ancient practice of communicating under a single species in certain cases of constant recurrence.

The vicar admits that it appears from Tertullian, St. Cyprian, &c. that during the first pagan persecutions the Christians were accustomed to take home with them the blessed sacrament, which they kept in their boxes to communicate themselves; and, he adds, that "those who partook of it in a secret manner, enjoyed a perfect communion of the body and blood of Christ." But I should like to know, what need there was, *in his system*, of the Christians carrying home the sacramental bread from their assemblies? and why any piece of bread from the pantry would not answer the desired purpose just as well? In fact, what is the sacrament, shut up in a box, as he and bishop Taylor have explained it above, but an *idolum*; *a nothing in the world*, but a piece of bread! It seems, however, that this gentleman undertakes to prove from Tertullian himself, that those Christians who took home from the assemblies the element of bread, took the element of wine also. The passage of the father here alluded to is the following, and the object he had in view when he wrote it was to dissuade his wife, in case she survived him, from marrying with a pagan. Supposing, however this to have happened to her, and speaking of the sacrament

(1) Card. Bona, De Rebus Liturg. tom. iii. p. 700.

in the box, Tertullian asks her: "Will not your husband know what you privately taste before all other food? And, if he knows it is bread, will he not suppose it to be what it is called? And, being ignorant of this, will he not with sighs remain in doubt whether it is bread or poison?" (1)

The whole question here confessedly is concerning the sacrament in the form of bread; for if the form of wine were in the box, assuredly the pagan husband would suspect the poison to be contained in that rather than the other. "But," replies the vicar, "this father, speaking of the resurrection, says: 'our flesh is fed with the body and blood of Christ.'" Very well: and so may I say likewise. Again: "In his address to his wife he urges her in two places to take the cup with earnestness of soul." No doubt he does so: but at the *hand of the deacon* in the sacrifice of the Mass, when she assists at it, *not from her own hand*, when she communicates herself out of the private box, for such is the import of the passage referred to by the vicar. (2) With respect to the story related by St. Cyprian, of an infant, who, after tasting wine defiled with idolatry, could not swallow a drop of the consecrated species; the father's words plainly imply that the liquid, and not the solid species, was administered to it, conformably with the discipline of the time in regard to infants. (3) In vain would the vicar persuade us that the youth, who was sent with the eucharistic bread to the dying Serapon, as Eusebius relates the history, (4) and which he was directed to moisten, and so to pour it into the sick man's mouth, carried with him the liquid species also: there is not a word of the narration that intimates this, and every part of it signifies the contrary. When I referred to St. Basil's testimony, I did not allude to any thing that he elsewhere says, respecting the general practice of the Church in the solemn mysteries, but to this letter to Cæsarea, in which he speaks of the particular practice of the hermits, who preserved the sacred particles in their cells for their private communion. (5) Cardinal Bona, who brings many examples of the kind, mentions one monk in particular, Luke the younger, who, having asked the bishop of Corinth how the solitaries were to receive the sacrament without the ministry of a priest, answered him,

(1) Ad. Uxor. l. ii. (2) *De cujus manu desiderabit: de cujus poculo participabit?* Ad Uxor. The father is here comparing the Christian mysteries and their ministers with the impious rites and ministers of the Pagan worship. (3) Serm. de Lepz. (4) Euseb. b. vi. c. 44. (5) Tom. iii. Ed. Par. p. 279.

that "they ought to preserve some of the sacred particles, and, *instead of the sacred liquor*, to drink a cup of wine." (1)

I appeal to you, dear sir, and to every other reader of my letters to your society, whether I ever pretended to bring "proof that there was only communion in one kind in the primitive Church," as the vicar falsely charges me with doing. No, sir, I always knew and confessed that both species were generally ministered in the ancient Church: what I denied was, that this rule was *universal*, or that the observance of it, in any sort, regarded *the essence of the sacrament*. To what purpose therefore does the vicar cite St. Chrysostom, after St. Basil, to testify that "all are admitted alike to partake of the divine mysteries," and that "one body and one cup is offered to all." That the double communion was not an indispensable law in the judgment of the latter, is proved by what his fellow-citizen and contemporary historian Sozomen relates of him. He tells us, that a woman infected with the Macedonian heresy, having, by way of satisfying her Catholic husband, presented herself in the saint's cathedral to receive the eucharist, contrived, by holding down her head, and with the help of her confederate maid, to exchange the sacred element for a piece of common bread, when she found the latter change in her mouth into a stone; which miracle, Sozomen says, caused her to confess her crime to St. Chrysostom, and to return to the true faith. (2) Now, sir, as it was impossible for this woman to have played her impious farce with the liquid species, it is plain that St. Chrysostom himself did, in some cases, allow of communion under one kind. A similar conclusion evidently follows, from the decree of pope Leo, in the middle of the fifth century, and of pope Gelasius at the end of it, together with proofs of the high authority which they exercised in the most important concerns of religion at that early period, for if the practice of receiving under both kinds had been universal, and was considered indispensably necessary, there could have been no occasion for those decrees to enforce it, in order to detect the Manichean heretics, who held the species of wine to be unlawful and impure. I mention the name of St. Jerom in order to notice the gross error which the vicar ascribes to him, in making him say that "the body of Christ was carried in a basket, and the blood in a glass vessel, *for the relief of the poor*." So crude and profane an idea, I am persuaded, never entered the head of any other person besides the vicar! No, sir, St. Jerom did

(1) Rev. Liturg. l. ii. p. 703.

(2) Sozom. b. viii. c. 5.

not extol the holy bishop Exuperius for carrying about the blessed sacrament as common food to relieve the poor, but for his extraordinary charity in having expended not only his own ample fortune, but also the plate of his church, in supporting the indigent and redeeming the captives taken by the Vandals, and thereby reducing himself to the necessity of using a wicker basket and a glass chalice in dispensing the sacred mysteries. (1) I observe that the vicar passes over the two instances I brought, one of Satyrus, the brother of St. Ambrose, the other of St. Birinus, the apostle of the West Saxons, carrying the blessed sacrament at sea in their neck-cloths (*orarium*). In fact, it would puzzle his ingenuity to shew how they could carry a liquid species in such a vehicle.

I shall close these proofs that the mode of communion in early times, namely, under one kind or under both, was considered as a matter of *changeable discipline* (the point which I originally maintained) with what is, in regard to the vicar, a *domestic instance*. The brightest light of the sixth century unquestionably was St. Columban, who, leaving his overstocked monastery of Benchor near Down, in Ireland, passed over to the continent and founded flourishing convents in France and Italy. He was in correspondence with popes, bishops, and princes, but what most contributed to his renown, was the *rule* which still goes by his name, and which he imported into the monasteries of the continent from his native country. In this, among other regulations, are the following regarding the reception of the sacrament, namely, that the monk, who in receiving the sacrament irreverently "touched the sacred chalice with his teeth, should be punished with six strokes of the whip." But as to the novices and other unlearned persons, the rule says that they "shall not approach to the chalice at all." (2) Here we see a two-fold mode of communicating established in the same convent; the monks received under both kinds, the novices under one kind alone.

When a man's prejudices or passions determine him to adhere to a false doctrine or a wrong practice, there is no pretext too frivolous, nor any inconsistency too glaring, for him to adopt in defending it. You have heard, dear sir, the vicar deny to the Catholic Church, guided as she is by the *spirit of truth, which teaches all truth*, and following, as she does, the uninterrupted tradition of the apostles, a right to

(1) Hieron. Ep. 4, 10, 11. Pref. in Lib. 1st. 2, Com. in Zach.

(2) "Qui percusserit dentibus calicem sex percussoribus, &c. Novi, qui indocti, et quicumque tales fuerint ad calicem non accedant." Reg. Colomb. Menard.

determine what is and what is not essential to the sacraments ; and you have heard him claim for his own church, or rather for the civil power that founded it, within these three last centuries, a right to *use its own discretion* in these matters, without referring to any tradition at all. Accordingly, he declares as follows : " With respect to the eucharist, our church retains *what is essential to that sacrament*, while it has wisely omitted what would be useless, inconvenient, or impossible to be complied with. It performs the sacramental action in the way commanded by Christ, when he said : DO THIS by blessing bread and eating it, and by blessing wine and drinking it, in remembrance of him. *In this consists the essence of the sacrament of the eucharist ;* and to the punctual observance of it the church of England is scrupulously attentive while it omits circumstances of themselves indifferent." Thus we distinctly see what constitutes the *essence* of the sacrament, according to the definition of this theologian : it consists in "*blessing bread and eating it, and in blessing wine and drinking it, in remembrance of Christ.*" Hence, of course, whenever all this is done, " the sacramental action is performed in the way commanded by Christ." Now, dear sir, I believe that all this has been regularly performed in your family at your ordinary meals ; you *blessed the bread* on your table and you *eat it ;* in like manner you *blessed the wine* on your table, and you *drank it* and this *in remembrance of Christ*, conformably with the command of the apostle : *Whether you eat or drink, or whatever else you do ; do all to the glory of God.* 1 Cor. x. 31. *Do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.* Coloss. iii. 17. You have therefore performed the sacramental action in the way commanded by Christ at every meal you have taken ; *the other circumstances*, according to the vicar's theology, being *of themselves indifferent !!* Nor is this the only absurdity and contradiction into which the reverend gentleman plunges, in following up his new system. For whereas, hitherto, in excluding the real essence of the eucharist, which is the *real presence of Jesus Christ*, the established church has required the *real presence of the bread and wine*, at least as essential to the sacrament (and, indeed, we have just now heard the vicar himself affirm, that *the essence of the sacrament* consists in them) nevertheless, in his concluding note on this subject, he gives up these likewise as things no way essential to it. His words are these : " Dr. M. says he has heard of British *made-wine* being used by church-ministers for real wine ; and of the mis

sionaries to Otaheite using the *bread-fruit* for real bread. There is no doubt but that such bread and wine should be substituted in the absence of real bread and wine. Those aliments nourish and sustain the body, when the others cannot be procured; why therefore may they not be as efficaciously used, as those others, to convey the spiritual nourishment, which is imparted by the sacrament of the Lord's supper?" Here we find the vicar making light of the substances ordained by Christ, and extending the essential matter and benefit of the eucharist to *any aliments that nourish and sustain the body*. To confine our view therefore to the reverend divine's own country: it is well known that in many mountainous and boggy districts of it, no other aliments are to be procured but potatoes to eat, and whisky to drink, which also approach nearer to the nature of bread and wine, than do the fruits of the Indian trees, and the juices and sap of British bushes and shrubs. The consequence is, that according to the vicar's system of theology, every cabin dinner over which the pious peasant says grace and makes the sign of the cross, in memory of Christ's sufferings, is that *very flesh and blood which he gave for the life of the world*, John, vi. 52, *the eating and drinking of which is, to the unworthy partaker of it, eating and drinking damnation to himself*. 1 Cor. xi. 29. I am your's, &c. JOHN MILNER.

ON THE SACRIFICE OF THE NEW LAW.

LETTER XLIX.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq. &c.

DEAR SIR,—The bishop of London leads me next to the consideration of the sacrifice of the new law, commonly called THE MASS, on which, however, he is brief and evidently embarrassed. As I have already touched upon this subject, in treating of the means of sanctification in the Catholic Church I shall be as brief upon it here as I well can be.

A sacrifice is an offering up, and immolation of a living animal, or other sensible thing, to God, in testimony that he is the Master of life and death, the Lord of us and all things. It is evidently a more expressive act of the creature's homage to his Creator, as well as one more impressive on the mind of the creature itself, than mere prayer is; and therefore it was revealed by God to the patriarchs, at the beginning of

the world, and afterwards more strictly enjoined by him to his chosen people, in the revelation of his written law to Moses, as the most acceptable and efficacious worship that could be offered up to his Divine Majesty. The tradition of this primitive ordinance, and the notion of its advantageousness, have been so universal, that it has been practised, in one form or other, in every age, from the time of our first parents down to the present, and by every people, whether civilized or barbarous, except modern Protestants. For when the nations of the earth *changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts*, Rom. i. 23. they continued the rite of sacrifice, and transferred it to these unworthy objects of their idolatry. From the whole of this I infer, that it would have been truly surprising if under the most perfect dispensation of God's benefits to men, the new law, he had left them destitute of sacrifice. But he has not so left them; on the contrary, that prophecy of Malachy is evidently verified in the Catholic Church, spread as it is over the surface of the earth. *From the rising of the sun even to the going down thereof, my name is great among the Gentiles; and, in every place, there is SACRIFICE; and there is offered to my name a clean oblation.* Mal. i. 11. If Protestants say, we have the sacrifice of Christ's death, I answer, so had the servants of God under the law of nature and the written law: *for it is impossible that with the blood of oxen and goats sin should be taken away.* Nevertheless, they had perpetual sacrifices of animals to represent the death of Christ, and to apply the fruits of it to their souls. In the same manner Catholics have Christ himself really present, and mystically offered on their altars daily, for the same ends, but in a far more efficacious manner, and, of course, *a true propitiatory sacrifice.* That Christ is truly present in the blessed eucharist I have proved by many arguments; that a mystical immolation of him takes place in the holy Mass, by the separate consecration of the bread and of the wine, which strikingly represents the separation of his blood from his body, I have likewise shewn. Finally, I have shewn you, that the officiating priest performs these mysteries by command of Christ, and in memory of what he did at the last supper, and what he endured on Mount Calvary: **DO THIS IN MEMORY OF ME.** Nothing then is wanting in the holy Mass, to constitute it the true and propitiatory sacrifice of the new law; a sacrifice which as much surpassed, in dignity and efficacy, the sacrifice of the old law, as the chief priest and victim of it,

the incarnate Son of God, surpasses in these respects, the sons of Aaron, and the animals which they sacrificed. No wonder then, that as the fathers of the Church have, from the earliest times, borne testimony to the reality of this sacrifice, (1) they should speak in such lofty terms of its awfulness and efficacy: no wonder that the Church of God should retain and revere it, as the most sacred and the very essential part of her sacred liturgy: and, I will add, no wonder that satan should have persuaded Martin Luther to attempt to abrogate this worship, as that which most of all is offensive to him. (2) The main arguments of the bishops of London and Lincoln, and of Dr. Hey, with other Protestant controvertists, against the sacrifice of the new law, are drawn from St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, where, comparing the sacrifice of our Saviour with the sacrifices of the Mosaic law, the apostle says: that *Christ being come, a high priest of the good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is, not of this creation: neither by the blood of goats, or of calves, but by his own blood, entereth once into the holies, having obtained eternal redemption.* Heb. ix. 11, 12. *Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holies every year.* Ver. 25. Again, St. Paul says: *Every priest standeth indeed daily ministering and often offering sacrifices, which can never take away sins: but this man offering one sacrifice for sins, sitteth at the right hand of God.* Chap. x. 11, 12. Such are the texts, at full length, which modern Protestants urge so confidently against the sacrifice of the new law; but in which neither the ancient fathers, nor any other description of

(1) St. Justin, who appears to have been in his youth contemporary with St. John the evangelist, says, that "Christ instituted a sacrifice in bread and wine, which Christians offer up in every place," quoting Malachy i. 19 *Dialog. cum Tryphon.* St. Irenæus, whose master, Polycarp, was a disciple of that evangelist, says, "that Christ in consecrating bread and wine, has instituted the sacrifice of the new law, which the Church received from the apostles, according to the prophecy of Malachy." l. iv. 32. St. Cyprian calls the eucharist "a full and true sacrifice," and says, that "as Melchisedech offered bread and wine, so Christ offered the same, namely, his body and blood." *Epist.* 63. St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, St. Ambrose, &c. are equally clear and expressive on this point. The last mentioned call this sacrifice by the name of *Missa* or *Mass*; so do St. Leo, St. Gregory, our venerable Bede, &c. (2) Luther, in his book *de Unct. et Miss.* Priv. tom. vii. fol. 228, gives an account of the motive which induced him to suppress the sacrifice of the Mass among his followers. He says that the devil appeared to him at midnight, and in a long conference with him, the whole of which he relates, convinced him that the worship of the Mass is idolatry. See *Letters to a Prebendary*, Let. v.

Christians, but themselves, can see any argument against it. In fact, if these passages be read in their context, it will appear that the apostle is barely proving to the Hebrews (whose lofty ideas and strong tenaciousness of their ancient rites appear from different parts of the Acts of the Apostles) how infinitely superior the sacrifice of Christ is to those of the Mosaic law: particularly from the circumstance which he repeats, in different forms, namely, that there was a necessity of their sacrifices being *often repeated*, which, after all, *could not* of themselves, and independently of the one they prefigured, *take away sin*; whereas the latter, namely, Christ's death on the cross, *obliterated at once* the sins of those who availed themselves of it. Such is the argument of St. Paul to the Jews respecting their sacrifices, which in no sort militates against the sacrifice of the Mass, this being the same sacrifice with that of the Cross, as to the *victim* that is offered, and as to the *priest* who offers it, differing in nothing but the manner of offering; (1) in the one there being a real, and in the other a mystical, effusion of the victim's blood. (2) So far from invalidating the Catholic doctrine on this point, the apostle confirms it in this very epistle; where, quoting and repeating the sublime psalm of the royal prophet concerning the Messiah; *Thou art a priest for ever* ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF MELCHISEDECH, *Ps. cix. alias cx*, he enlarges on the dignity of this sacerdotal patriarch, to whom Aaron himself, the high priest of the old law, paid tribute, as to his superior, through his ancestor Abraham. *Heb. v.—vii.* Now in what did this *order of Melchisedech* consist? In what, I ask, did his sacrifice differ from those which Abraham himself and the other patriarchs, as well as Aaron and his sons offered? Let us consult the sacred text, as to what it says concerning this royal priest, when he came to meet Abraham, on his return from victory: *Melchisedech, the king of Salem*, bringing forth BREAD AND WINE, *for he was the priest of the most high God, blessed him.* Gen. xiv. 18. It was then in offering up a *sacrifice of bread and wine*, (3) instead of slaughtered animals, that Melchisedech's sacrifice differed from the generality of those in the old law, and that he prefigured the sacrifice which Christ was to institute in the new law from the same elements. No other sense but this can be elicited from the

(1) Concil. Trid. Sess. xxii. cap. 2.

(2) Cat. ad Paroc. P. ii. p. 81.

(3) The sacrifice of Cain, Gen. iv. 3, and that ordered in Levit. ii. 1, of flour, oil, and incense, prove that inanimate things were sometimes of old offered in sacrifice.

scripture as to this matter; and accordingly the holy fathers unanimously adhere to this meaning. (1)

In finishing this letter I cannot help, dear sir, making two or three short but important observations. The first regards the deception practised on the unlearned by the above-named bishops, Dr. Hey, and most other Protestant controvertists, in talking, on every occasion, of the *Popish Mass*, and representing the tenets of the real presence, transubstantiation and a subsisting true propitiatory sacrifice, as peculiar to *Catholics*; whereas, if they are persons of any learning, they must know that these are, and ever have been, held by all the Christians in the world, except the comparatively few who inhabit the northern parts of Europe. I speak of the Melchite or common Greeks of Turkey, the Armenians, the Muscovites, the Nestorians, the Eutychians or Jacobites, the Christians of St. Thomas in India, the Copts and Ethiopians in Africa; all of whom maintain each of those articles, and almost every other on which Protestants differ from Catholics, with as much firmness as we ourselves do. Now as these sects have been totally separated from the Catholic Church, some of them 800 and some 1,400 years, it is impossible they should have derived any recent doctrines or practices from her; and, divided as they ever have been among themselves, they cannot have combined to adopt them. On the other hand, since the rise of Protestantism, attempts have been repeatedly made to draw some or other of them to the novel creed, but all in vain. Melancthon translated the Augsburg Confession of Faith into Greek, and sent it to Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, hoping he would adopt it; whereas the patriarch did not so much as acknowledge the receipt of the present. (2) Fourteen years later, Crusius, professor of Tubingen, made a similar attempt on Jeremy, the successor of Joseph, who wrote back, requesting him to write no more on the subject, at the same time making the most explicit declaration of his belief in the seven sacraments, the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, &c. (3) In the middle of the 17th century, fresh overtures being made to the Greeks by the Calvinists of Holland, the most convincing evidence of the orthodox belief of all the above-mentioned communions on the articles in question were furnished by them; the original of which was deposited in the French king's library at Paris. (4) I have to remark, in the second place, on the inconsistencies of the

(1) St. Cyr. Ep. 63. St. Aug. in Ps. xxxiii. St. Chrys. Hom. 35. St. Jerom, Ep. 126, &c. (2) Sheffimac. tom. ii. p. 7. (3) Ibid. (4) *Perpetuite de la Foi*.

church of England respecting this point; she has *priests*, (1) but *no sacrifice*! she has *altars*, (2) but *no victim*! She has an *essential consecration* of the sacramental elements, (3) *without any the least effect upon them*! Not to dive deeper into this chaos, I would gladly ask bishop Porteus, what hinders a deacon, or even a layman, from consecrating the sacramental bread and wine *as validly* as a priest or a bishop can do agreeably to his system of consecration? There is evidently no obstacle at all, except such as the mutable law of the land interposes. In the last place, I think it right to quote some of the absurd and irreligious invectives of the renowned Dr. Hey against the holy Mass, because they shew the extreme ignorance of our religion, which generally prevails among the learned Protestants who write against it. The doctor first describes the Mass as “blasphemous, in dragging down Christ from heaven,” according to his expression; 2dly, as “pernicious, in giving men an easy way,” as he pretends; “of evading all their moral and religious duties;” 3dly, as “promoting infidelity:” in conformity with which latter assertion he maintains, that “most Romanists of letters and science are infidels.” He next proceeds seriously to *advise* Catholics to abandon this part of their sacred liturgy, namely, the adorable sacrifice of the new law; and he then concludes his theological farce with the following ridiculous threats against this sacrifice. “If the Romanists will not listen to our brotherly exhortations, let them *fear our threats*. The rage of *paying for Masses* will not last for ever: as *men improve (by the French revolution)* it will continue to grow weaker, as *philosophy (that of Atheism)* rises, *Masses* will *sink in price*, and superstition pine away.” (4) I wish I had an opportunity of telling the learned professor, that I should have expected, from the failure of patriarch Luther, counselled and assisted as he was by satan himself, in his attempts to abolish the holy Mass, he would have been more cautious in dealing prophetic threats against it! In fact, he has lived to

(1) See the Rubrics of the Communion service. (2) See ditto in Sparrow's Collec. p. 20. (3) “If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the priest is to consecrate more.” Rubr.—N. B. Bishop Warburton and bishop Cleaver earnestly contend that the eucharist is a *feast upon a sacrifice*; but as, in their dread of Popery, they admit no change, or even the reality of a victim, their feast is proved to be an imaginary banquet on an ideal viand. (4) Dr. Hey's Theol. Lectures, vol. iv. p. 385. The professor tells us in a note, that this lecture was delivered in the year 1792, the hey-day of that antichristian and antisocial philosophy, which attempted, through an ocean of blood, to subvert every altar and every throne.

see this divine worship *publicly* restored in every part of Christendom where it was proscribed when he vented his menaces : for as to the *private celebration of Mass*, this was never intermitted, not even in the depth of the gloomiest dungeons, and where no pay could be had by the Catholic priesthood. What other religious worship, I ask, could have triumphed over such a persecution ! The same will be the case in the latter days ; when *the man of sin shall have indignation against the covenant of the sanctuary . . and shall take away the continual sacrifice*, Dan. xi. 30, 34 ; for even then the mystical woman *who is clothed with the sun, and has the moon under her feet . . shall fly into the wilderness*, Rev. xii. 1, 6, and perform the divine mysteries of a God incarnate in caverns and catacombs, as she did in early times till that happy day, when her heavenly Spouse, casting aside those sacramental veils under which his love now shrouds him, shall shine forth *in the glory of God the Father, the Judge of the living and the dead*.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER L.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—It is shewn in the preceding letter, that no religious system, true or false, Patriarchal or Mosaic, Christian or Pagan, Orthodox or Heretical, ever existed without that supreme act of religion, called SACRIFICE, until within these three centuries ; that Martin Luther let himself be persuaded by Satan, as he himself acquaints us in great detail, to declare himself against it. Abel, Noah, Job, Melchisedech, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, in short all the patriarchs offered sacrifice, down to the divine mission of Moses, a great part of whose law related to the different species and rites of sacrifice. The several sacrifices continued to be offered up during the time of the prophets down to the last of them. Malachy, who announced the Almighty's approaching rejection of the Jewish sacrifices, and his substitution in their place of *a sacrifice and pure oblation*, which should be *offered up in every place among the Gentiles, from the rising of the sun to the sitting thereof*, (1) which prophecy has been visibly

(1) Malac. i. 2.

fulfilled since the promulgation of the gospel, in the holy sacrifice of the Mass throughout the Christian world, and in no other way. In like manner among the characters of the promised Messiah, foretold of him by the psalmist, and declared by the apostle to have been fulfilled in our Saviour Christ, his priesthood *according to the order of Melchisedech* is emphatically dwelt upon. Absorbed in the contemplation of this Divine Personage, holy David, exclaimed respecting him: *The Lord hath sworn and he will not repent (of it). Thou art a Priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech;* (1) and St. Paul wrote copiously and sublimely in his epistle to the Hebrews concerning him; where, among other things, he proves the superior dignity of Christ's *priesthood, according to the order of Melchisedech*, as follows: *If perfection was by the Levitical priesthood, what further need was there that another priest should rise according to the order of Melchisedech, and not be called according to the order of Aaron?* (2) Now in what did the priesthood of Melchisedech differ from that of the Levitical priesthood? We learn this from the short history of that patriarch in the book of Genesis; namely, that when Abraham returned from his victory in the vale of Saye, *Melchisedech*, the king of Salem, *bringing forth bread and wine, for he was the priest of the Most High God, blessed him:* (3) It was then in offering bread and wine, the types and elements of the sacrifice of the new law, which Christ was to institute, that the superiority of his sacrifice consisted. Such is the sense of Scriptures in the passages here quoted to an upright mind, and so they have been explained by SS. Justin, Irenæus, Cyprian, Chrysostom. and the fathers in general. I have already quoted some of these holy witnesses of the *faith once delivered to the saints*, (4) in this matter of the eucharistic sacrifice, some part of whose testimony I will once more repeat in the note below. (5) Nevertheless, the vicar, just as if those texts of holy writ and those passages from the fathers had never been cited, or did not mean what they so clearly express, has the confidence to say: "The scriptures do not warrant our cal-

(1) Ps. cix, alias cx.

(2) Heb. vii. 11.

(3) Gen. xiv. 18.

(4) Jud. i. 3.

(5) St. Justin, quoting Malachy, Dialog. with Tryphon, writes: "Christ instituted a sacrifice in bread and wine which Christians offer up in every place." St. Irenæus, quoting Malachy. l. iv. 32, writes: "Christ in consecrating bread and wine has instituted the sacrifice of the New Law, which the Church has received from the apostles." St. Cyprian calls the eucharist "a true and full sacrifice;" adding, that as Melchisedech offered bread and wine, so Christ offered the same namely, his body and blood." Epist. 63.

ding it a *sacrifice*, nor do the records of the primitive Church furnish us with any document for considering it one. In fact, if the fathers thought it such, they would have called it so." You see, my dear sir, and the vicar must have seen, that each one of the three first-mentioned fathers, SS. Justin, Irenæus, and Cyprian, not only prove that there is a real sacrifice of the new law, but also that they expressly call it by the name of SACRIFICE. What then can I term the above quoted assertion of the reverend gentleman, but an impugning of the known truth? But, I will here add a few more testimonies of the fathers to those already adduced, in proof that they both *considered* the principal liturgy of the Church a *sacrifice*, and that they were accustomed to *call it so*. St. Augustin, expounding that verse of the thirty-ninth, alias the fortieth Psalm, *Sacrifice and oblation thou dost not desire*, says thus: "Are we then to be without sacrifice? God forbid. Let us then hear: *But thou hast formed a body for me*. Here is a new victim. What then is it that God will reject? The figures. What is it that God will accept of and prescribe to fulfil the figures? The body that fulfils all the figures, *the adorable body of Jesus Christ upon our altars*." (1) The same holy father, among numerous other testimonies to the same effect, writes as follows: "This sacrifice succeeds to all the sacrifices of the old law, which were immolated as shadows of that which was to come. In place of all those sacrifices and oblations, his body is offered and administered to the partakers of it." (2) St. Ambrose writes: "We offer sacrifices for the people, and however imperfect we are of ourselves, we are truly ennobled by this priesthood." (3) This father, like St. Cyril, whom I have quoted in a former letter, cites largely from the canon of the Mass, and expressly calls the blessed eucharist "*an unbloody victim*." The general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon equally call it so. (4) I might fill a folio with documents to the same effect, but will content myself in conclusion with giving you and your society a word from the great St. Chrysostom, on the precise point of the *eucharistic sacrifice*,

(1) St. Aug. in Ps. xxxix. (2) De Civit. Dei. l. xvii. c. 20. (3) In x's xxxviii. (4) Ephes. in its declarat, on the 11th Anath. Chalced. Art. 3. Among other ancient witnesses, I might adduce Tertullian, whom the vicar introduced as denying the existence of real sacrifice under the new law: nevertheless, this father expressly says, "We offer up sacrifice for the safety of the emperor." L. ii. ad Scap. c. 1. And in his book De Cult. Fœmir. c. 7, he restrains women from going out into public, except to attend the sick, or hear the word of God, or "when *the sacrifice* is offered."

which I cited in a former letter from him regarding particularly the *real presence*. "Christ prepared a more wonderful and magnificent sacrifice for us, when he changed the sacrifice, and instead of slaughtered beasts gave *himself* to be offered up." (1)

My argument leading me to expose the inconsistent claims of certain Protestant divines in this matter, the vicar undertakes to justify their claims, and to place his liturgy in competition with the Catholic sacrifice of the Mass in the following manner: he says, "The eucharist is a sacrifice in a figurative sense, as when we call it a *sacrifice of praise*. It is also a *feast upon a sacrifice*, at which we profess our belief in the death of Christ. The table of the Lord is an *altar*, on which is offered the *type* of the sacrifice of Christ himself, while they who serve at it, discharging the *priestly functions* of consecration and absolution, are properly called *priests*." But what froth, my dear sir, is all this, to conceal the real substance! What an assemblage of words approaching to the language of scripture and the fathers, while their real meaning is as distant from it as the east is from the west! The vicar's eucharist then, according to him, is a *sacrifice*, because it *represents* Christ! though not by any means so significantly as did the paschal lamb of old. It is a *sacrifice of praise*! Why so are the psalms and other good prayers. It is a *feast on a sacrifice*! though there is neither any spiritual food nor any victim present, except God's general ubiquity. The table is an altar, because the *type* of Christ is placed on it! Thus every table is an altar which supports a crucifix or book of the gospels. Finally, the vicar himself is a priest, because he pronounces the consecration and absolution! Though in doing this, according to his own explanation, he performs nothing more than what his clerk, or any other man or woman in his parish could perform as well as himself. Is such, then, the *sacrifice and pure oblation*, according to Malachy, that was to render the name of God *great among the Gentiles*? Is such the grand rite for instituting which the Almighty swore that his Incarnate Son should be a *priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech*? Is this the *true and full sacrifice*, of which St. Cyprian speaks? In a word, will the vicar himself pretend to reconcile his "*figurative sacrifice*," and his "*types of Christ's death*," &c. with the above quoted positive declarations of St. Augustin, St. Chrysostom, and the other fathers,

(1) Hom. xiv. 1 Cor.

that the reality of Christ's body and blood is now substituted to the former figures of it?

The only attempt of the vicar to argue on the present point is contained in the following passage, which I give in all its native deformity. He says: "Besides the idolatry and sacrilege, to which transubstantiation gave birth, may be added the gross impiety which arose out of it in the sacrifice of the Mass; by which the sufficiency of our Saviour's sacrifice, once offered, is *roundly denied*. For, according to it, the Church of Rome considered the Lord's supper both as a memorial of Christ's death, and as a sacrifice actually offered up to God, and that it is not only commemorative, but propitiatory, both for the living and the dead." In the first place, sir, I should be glad to ask the vicar what Catholic ever *roundly denied* the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, or insinuated the slightest doubt concerning it? So far from this being the case, it is an article of our faith, that the slightest atonement of an Incarnate God is sufficient to wash away the sins of all mankind from Adam to Antichrist. In the second place, I would require a proof from him that this consequence follows from the doctrine of the reality of the sacrifice of the Mass? On this point it is evident that the vicar stands in need of information. You know, my dear sir, and he ought to have known before he undertook to treat of this matter, that the sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Mass are not distinct from each other, but are *one and the same sacrifice*: the *victim* is the same, the *priest*, the *objects* are the same, namely, glory to God, mercy, grace, and salvation to men. The sole difference is as to the manner of offering. On the cross, Christ's blood was actually shed; but, though he is as truly present, both as to body and soul in the Mass as he was on the Cross, his blood is only separated from his body *mystically*, and by *representation*. It is an error to suppose that the repetition of the sacrifice, any more than of prayers, implies any thing to be wanting to its intrinsic perfection or efficacy; since otherwise Christ would not command us *to pray* to our all-bountiful Father *always without fainting*. (1) But the bright light of the Eastern church, St. John Chrysostom, will refute the vicar's error, and illustrate this whole matter far better than I can do. His words are these, and St. Ambrose speaks to the same effect: "Whether Peter, Paul, or any other priest of inferior merit, presents the sacred oblation, it is the same which Christ de-

(1) Luke xviii. 1.

livered to his disciples, and which the priest now performs. The latter possesses nothing less than the former. Why so? Because they are not men, but Christ, who had before consecrated it. For as the words that Christ spoke are the same that the priests now pronounce, so the oblation is the same." (1) He elsewhere says: "We always offer the same thing, not one lamb to day and another to-morrow, but always the same Lamb. Hence the sacrifice is always the same: otherwise, as it is offered in many places, there would be many Christs: but this is not so: there is but one Christ every where: and being entire, here and there, he is one and the same body and not many bodies, so *there is but one sacrifice*. For our high priest is *he who offered the victim that cleanseth us: this we offer now.*" (2)

I cannot leave this subject of the sacrifice of the Mass, without mentioning one or two omissions of the vicar to fulfil his engagement of answering all my principal arguments: which omissions I think he would not have been guilty of, if he had known what to say on those heads. I complained then, that not only bishop Porteus, but also the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Hey, and most Protestant divines, incessantly talk of and declaim against what they call the *Popish Mass*: whereas they cannot be ignorant that the same liturgy is performed, and the same belief of its being a *propitiatory sacrifice*, grounded on *transubstantiation*, is held by all Christians throughout the world, except the comparatively few who inhabit the British islands, Denmark, Sweden, and certain parts of Germany. I speak of the Greeks, the Russians, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, the Cophts, the Ethiopians, &c. all these millions of Christians, I say, believe in and offer up the *real sacrifice of the Mass*, no less than Catholics do. (3) What means then the term of *Popish Mass*, objected to the latter, unless for the purpose of invidious obloquy? In like manner, what sense is there in requiring members of parliament to swear that "*the Mass, AS IT IS USED BY THE CHURCH OF ROME*, is idolatrous," when all the above named millions of Christians use it and believe in it just as she does!

In another important point of the present question, I find the vicar equally wanting to his promise of answering all my principal arguments. You, recollect, dear sir, my stating that Luther was the first innovator who formally attacked the

(1) Hom. II. on 2d to Tim. (2) Hom. XVII. on Heb. (3) See this proved in detail by Le Brun, in his *Explication de la Messe*.

sacrifice of the Mass, and that he was induced so to do by the arguments of Satan, who held a midnight conference with him of more than an hour's length on the subject. It is Luther himself who relates the history, and publishes in full detail the five theological arguments the devil made use of for this purpose. Surely this was a matter worthy the vicar's attention. He should have told us whether or no he subscribes to the five notable arguments of the infernal theologian against the Mass, which, after all, displays much more learning and talent than his own letter on that subject. If he does admit them, he owns no less than Luther, who is his original preceptor in this matter. If he rejects them, he ought to furnish some better arguments than Satan does, for coming to the same conclusion with him. In the mean time it is an undeniable fact, that Satan's arguments against the Mass published by Luther, tom. vii. p. 228, form the earliest treatise extant in support of that impiety. I am, dear sir, &c.

JOHN MILNER,

ON ABSOLUTION FROM SIN.

LETTER LI.—*To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M.A.*

REV. SIR,—I PERCEIVE that in selecting objections against the Church, although you chiefly follow bishop Porteus, who mixes, in the same chapter, the heterogeneous subjects of the mass and the forgiveness of sins, you adopt some others from the tracts of bishop Watson, and even from writers of such little repute as the Rev. C. De Coetlogon. This preacher, inventing the horrid calumnies which a great proportion of other Protestant preachers and controvertists of different sects, equally with himself, instil into the minds of their ignorant hearers and readers, expresses himself as follows: "In the Church of Rome you may purchase not only pardons for sins already committed, but for those that shall be committed so that any one may promise himself impunity, upon paying the rate that is set upon any sin he hath a mind to commit. And so truly is Popery the mother of abominations, that if any one hath wherewithal to pay, he may not only be indulged in his present transgressions, but may even be *permitted to transgress in future.*" (1) And are these shameless calum-

(1) Abominations of the Church of Rome, p. 13. The preacher goes on to state the sum of money for which, he says, Catholics believe they

niators real Christians, who believe in a judgment to come?! And do they expect to make us Catholics renounce our religion, by representing it to us as the very reverse of what we know it to be? It is true, bishop Porteus, in his attack upon the Catholic doctrine of absolution and justification, does not go the lengths of the pulpit-declamer above quoted, and of the other controvertists alluded to; still he is guilty of much gross misrepresentation of it. As his language on the subject is confused, if not contradictory, I will briefly state what the Catholic Church has ever believed, and has solemnly defined in her last general council concerning it.

The council of Trent teaches, that "all men lost their innocence, and become defiled, and *children of wrath*, in the prevarication of Adam;"—that, "not only the Gentiles were unable, by the force of nature, but that even the Jews were unable, by the law of Moses, to rise, notwithstanding free-will was not extinct in them, however weakened and depraved;" (1)—that "the heavenly Father of mercy and God of all consolation sent his Son, Jesus Christ, to men, in order to redeem both Jews and Gentiles;" (2)—that, "though he died for all, yet all do not receive the benefit of his death; but only those to whom the merit of his passion is communicated;" (3)—that, for this purpose, "since the preaching of the gospel, baptism, or the desire of it, is necessary;" (4)—that, "the beginning of justification in adult persons (those who are come to the use of reason) is to be derived from God's preventing grace, through Jesus Christ, by which, without any merits of their own, they are called; so that they who, by their sins, were averse from God, are, by his exciting

may commit the most atrocious crimes: "For incest, &c. five sixpences; for debauching a virgin, six sixpences; for perjury, ditto; for him who kills his father, mother, &c. one crown and five groats! This curious account is borrowed from the *Taxa Cancellariæ Romanæ*, a book which has been frequently published, though with great variations both as to the crimes and the prices, by the Protestants of Germany and France, and as frequently condemned by the see of Rome. It is proper that Mr. Clayton and his friends should know, that the pope's court of chancery has no more to do, nor pretends to have any more to do, with the *forgiveness of sins*, than his majesty's court of chancery does. In case there ever was the least real ground-work for this vile book, which I cannot find there ever was, the money paid into the papal chancery could be nothing else but the *fees of office*, on restoring certain culprits to the *civil privileges* which they had forfeited by their crimes. When the proceedings in Doctor's Commons in a case of incest are suspended (as I have known them suspended during the whole life of one of the accused parties), fees of office are always required but would it not be a vile calumny to say, leave to commit incest may be purchased in England for certain sums of money? (1) *Sees vi. cap. i*
(2) *Cap. ii.* (3) *Cap. iii.* (4) *Can. iv*

and assisting grace, prepared to convert themselves to their justification, by freely consenting to and co-operating with his grace;" (1)—that, "being excited and assisted by divine grace, and receiving faith from hearing, they are freely moved towards God, believing the things which have been divinely revealed and promised, they are excited to hope that God will be merciful to them for Christ's sake, and they begin to love him as the fountain of all justice; and therefore are moved to a certain hatred and detestation of sins." Lastly, "They resolve on receiving baptism, to begin a new life and keep God's commandments." (2) Such is the doctrine of the Church concerning the justification of the adult in baptism. With respect to the pardon of sins committed after baptism, the Church teaches, that "the penance of a Christian, after his fall, is very different from that of baptism, and that it consists not only in refraining from sins, and sincerely detesting them—that is, in a *contrite and humble heart*—but also in a sacramental *confession* of them, in desire at least, and at a proper time, and the priestly *absolution*. Likewise in *satisfaction*; by fasting, alms, prayers, and other pious exercises of a spiritual life: not indeed for the *eternal punishment*, which, together with the crime, is remitted in the sacrament, or the desire of the sacrament, but for the *temporal punishment*, which the scripture teaches is not always and wholly remitted, as in baptism." (3) Such is, and always was, the doctrine of the Catholic Church, which thus ascribes the whole glory of man's justification, both in its beginning and its progress, to God, through Jesus Christ; in opposition to Pelagius and modern Lutherans, who attribute the beginning of conversion to the human creature. On the other hand, this doctrine leaves man in possession of his free-will for co-operating in this great work; and thereby rejects the pernicious tenet of the Calvinists, who deny free-will and ascribe even our sins to God. In short, the Catholic Church equally condemns the enthusiasm of the Methodist, who fancies himself justified, in some unexpected instant, without faith, hope, charity, or contrition; and the presumption of the unconverted sinner, who supposes that exterior good works and the reception of the sacrament will avail him, without any degree of the above-mentioned divine virtues. Such, I say, is the Catholic doctrine, in spite of all the calumnies of the Rev. C. De Coetlogon and bishop Porteus. This prelate is chiefly bent on disproving the necessity of sacramental confession, and

1) Sess. vi. cap. v.

(2) Cap. vi.

(3) John, xx. 22, 23.

on depriving the sacerdotal absolution of all efficacy whatsoever. Accordingly, he maintains, that when Christ *breathed upon his apostles and said to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost: WHOSE SINS YOU SHALL FORGIVE, THEY ARE FORGIVEN TO THEM: AND WHOSE SINS YOU SHALL RETAIN, THEY ARE RETAINED.* *John. xx. 22, 23*, he did not give them any real power to remit sins, but only "a power of declaring who were truly penitent, and of inflicting miraculous punishments on sinners; as likewise of preaching the word of God," &c. (1) And is this, I appeal to you, reverend sir, following the plain natural sense of the written word? But, instead of arguing the case myself, I will produce an authority against the bishop's vague and arbitrary gloss on this decisive passage, which I think he cannot object to or withstand; it is no other than that of the renowned Protestant champion, Chillingworth. Treating of this text he says: "Can any man be so unreasonable as to imagine, that when our Saviour, in so solemn a manner, having first breathed upon his disciples, thereby conveying and insinuating the Holy Ghost into their hearts, renewed unto them, or rather confirmed that glorious commission, &c. whereby he delegated to them an authority of binding and loosing sins upon earth, &c. Can any one think, I say, so unworthily of our Saviour as to esteem these words of his for no better than compliments? Therefore, in obedience to his gracious will, and as I am warranted and enjoined by my holy mother, the church of England, I beseech you that, by your practice and use, you will not suffer that commission, which Christ hath given to his ministers, to be a vain form of words, without any sense under them. When you feel yourselves charged and oppressed, &c. have recourse to your spiritual physician, and freely disclose the nature and malignancy of your disease, &c. And come not to him only with such mind as you would go to a learned man, as one that can speak comfortable things to you; but as to one that *hath authority, delegated to him from God himself, to absolve and acquit you of your sins.*" (2)

Having quoted this great Protestant authority against the prelate's cavils concerning sacerdotal absolution, I shall produce one or two more of the same sort, and then return to the more direct proofs of the doctrine under consideration. The Lutherans, then, who are the elder branch of the Reformation, in their Confession of Faith and Apology for that Confession,

(1) P. 46.

(2) Serm. vii. Relig. of Prot. pp. 408, 409.

expressly teach, that absolution is no less a sacrament than baptism and the Lord's supper; that *particular absolution* is to be retained in confession; that to reject it is the error of the Novatian heretics; and that, by the power of the keys, *Matt. xvi. 19, sins are remitted*, not only in the sight of the Church, but also *in the sight of God.* (1) Luther himself, in his Catechism, required that the penitent in confession should expressly declare that he believes "the *forgiveness of the priest* to be the *forgiveness of God.*" (2) What can bishop Portens and other modern Protestants say to all this, except that Luther and his disciples were infected with Popery? Let us then proceed to inquire into the doctrine of the Church itself, of which he is one of the most distinguished heads. In the *Order of the Communion*, composed by Cranmer, and published by Edward VI. the parson, vicar, or curate, is to proclaim this among other things: "If there be any of you whose conscience is troubled and grieved at any thing, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned priest, and *confess and open his sin and grief secretly.* &c. and that of us, as a minister of God and of the Church, he may *receive comfort and absolution*" (3) Conformably with this admonition, it is ordained in the *Common Prayer-book*, that when the minister visits any sick person, the "latter should be moved to make a *special confession of his sins*, if he feels his conscience troubled with any weighty matter; after which confession the priest shall absolve him, if he humbly and heartily desire it after this sort: *Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners, who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy, forgive thee thine offences; and by his authority committed to me, I ABSOLVE THEE FROM ALL THY SINS, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.*" (4) I may add, that, soon after James I. became at the same time a member and the head of the English church, he desired his prelates to inform him, in the conference at Hampton court, what authority this church claimed in the article of *absolution from sin*; when archbishop Whitgift began to entertain him with an account of the genera;

(1) Confess. August. Art. xi. xii, xiii. Apol. (2) In Catech. Parv. See also Luther's Table Talk, c. xviii. on auricular confession. (3) Bishop Sparrow's Collect. p. 20. (4) Order for the Visitation of the Sick. N. B. To encourage the secret confession of sins, the church of England has made a canon, requiring her ministers not to reveal the same. See Canones Eccles. A. D. 1693, n. 113.

confession and absolution in the communion service: with which the king not being satisfied, Bancroft, at that time bishop of London, fell on his knees, and said: "It becomes us to deal plainly with your majesty: there is also in the book a more particular and personal absolution in the *visitation of the sick*. Not only the confession of Augusta (Augsburg), Bohemia, and Saxony, retain and allow it, but also Mr. Calvin doth approve such a general and such a *private confession and absolution*." To this the king answered: "I exceedingly well approve it, being an apostolical and godly ordinance, given in the name of Christ, to one that desireth it upon the clearing of his conscience." (1)

I have signified that there are other passages of scripture besides that quoted above from *John*, xx. in proof of the authority exercised by the Catholic Church in the forgiveness of sins; such as *Matt.* xvi. 19, where Christ gives the *keys of the kingdom of heaven* to Peter; and chap. xviii 18, where he declares to all his apostles: *Verily, I say unto you: whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven*. But here also bishop Porteus and modern Protestants distort the plain meaning of scripture, and say that no other power is expressed by these words than those of inflicting *miraculous punishments*, and of *preaching the word of God!* Admitting, however, it were possible to affix to foreign a meaning to these texts, I would gladly ask the bishop why, after ordaining the priests of his church by this very form of words, he afterwards, by a separate form, commissions them to preach the word and to minister? (2) "No one," exclaims the bishop, "but God can forgive sins." True; but as he has annexed the forgiveness of sins committed before baptism to the reception of this sacrament with the requisite dispositions—*Do penance*, said St. Peter to the Jews, *and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of your sins*, Acts, ii. 38—so he is pleased to forgive sins committed after baptism by means of contrition, confession, satisfaction, and the priest's absolution.

Against the obligation of confessing sins, which is so evi-

(1) Fuller's Ch. Hist. b. x. p. 9. See the Defence of Bancroft's successor in the see of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, who endeavoured to enforce auricular confession, in Heylin's Life of Laud, p. ii. p. 415. It appears from this writer that Laud was confessor to the duke of Buckingham, and from Burnet, that bishop Morley was confessor to the duchess of York when a Protestant. Hist. of his own Times. (2) See the form of ordaining Priests.

dently sanctioned in scripture—*Many that believed, came and confessed, and declared their deeds*, Acts, xix. 18; and so expressly commanded therein, *Confess your sins one to another*, James, v. 16—the bishop contends that “it is not knowing a person’s sins that can qualify the priest to give him absolution, but knowing he hath repented of them.” (1) In refutation of this objection, I do not ask: Why then does the English church move the dying man to confess his sins? but I say, that the priest, being vested by Christ with a judicial power to *bind* or to *loose*, to *forgive* or to *retain sins*, cannot exercise that power without taking cognizance of the cause on which he is to pronounce, and without judging in particular of the dispositions of the sinner, especially as to his sorrow for his sins, and resolution to refrain from them in future. Now this knowledge can only be gained from the penitent’s own confession. From this may be gathered, whether his offences are those of *frailty* or of *malice*, whether they are *accidental* or *habitual*: in which latter case they are ordinarily to be retained, till his amendment gives proof of his real repentance. Confession is also necessary to enable the minister of the sacrament to decide, whether a public reparation for the crimes committed be or be not requisite; and whether there is or is not restitution to be made to the neighbour who has been injured in person, property, or reputation. Accordingly, it is well known, that such restitutions are frequently made by those who make use of the sacramental confession, and very seldom by those who do not use it. I say nothing of the incalculable advantage it is to the sinner, in the business of his conversion, to have a confidential and experienced pastor, to withdraw the veils behind which self-love is apt to conceal his favourite passions and worse crimes, and to expose to him the enormity of his guilt, of which before he had perhaps but an imperfect notion, and to prescribe to him the proper remedies for his entire spiritual cure. After all, it is for the holy Catholic Church, with whom the word of God and the sacraments were deposited by her divine Spouse, Jesus Christ, to explain the sense of the former, and the constituents of the latter: and this Church has uniformly taught, that *confession* and the priest’s *absolution* where they can be had, are *required* for the pardon of the penitent sinner, as well as *contrition* and a firm *purpose of amendment*. But to believe the bishop, our Church does not require contrition at all for the justification of the sinner; nor

"any dislike to sin or love to God;" (1) though He has declared *contrition* to be one of the necessary parts of sacramental penance. I will make no further answer to this shameful calumny, than by referring you and your friends to my above citations from the council of Trent. In these, you have seen that she requires "a hatred and detestation of sin:" that is, "*a contrite and humble heart, which God never despises*;" and moreover, "*an incipient love of God, as the foundation of all justice.*"

Finally, his lordship has the confidence to maintain, that "the primitive Church did not hold confession and absolution of this kind to be necessary," and that "private confession was never thought of as a command of God for 900 years after Christ, nor determined to be such till after 1200." (2) The few following quotations, from ancient fathers and councils, will convince our Salopian friends what sort of trust they are to place in this prelate's assertions on theological subjects. Tertullian, who lived in the age next to that of the apostles, and is the earliest Latin writer whose works we possess, writes thus: "If you withdraw from confession, think of hell-fire, which confession extinguishes." (3) Origen, who wrote soon after him, inculcates the necessity of confessing our most secret sins, even those of thought, (4) and advises the sinner "to look carefully about him in choosing the person to whom he is to confess his sins." (5) St. Basil, in the fourth century, wrote thus: "It is necessary to disclose our sins to those to whom the dispensation of the divine mysteries is committed." (6) St. Paulinus, the disciple of St. Ambrose, relates, that this holy doctor used to "weep over the penitents whose confessions he heard, but never disclosed their sins to any but to God alone." (7) The great St. Augustin writes: "Our merciful God wills us to confess in this world, that we may not be confounded in the other;" (8) and elsewhere he says, "Let no man say to himself, I do penance to God in private. Is it then in vain that Christ has said, *Whatsoever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven*? Is it in vain that the keys have been given to the Church?" (9) I could produce a long list of other passages to the same effect, from fathers and doctors, and also from councils of the Church, anterior to the periods he has assigned to the commencement and confirmation of the doctrine in question: but I will have

(1) P. 47. (2) Ibid. (3) Lib. de Pœnit. (4) Hom. 3 in Levit.
(5) Hom. 2 in Ps. xxxvii. (6) Rule 229. (7) In Vit. Ambros.
(8) Hom. 20. (9) Hom. 49.

recourse to a shorter, and perhaps a more convincing proof, that this doctrine could not have been introduced into the Church, at any period whatsoever subsequent to that of Christ and his apostles. My argument is this: it is impossible it should have been at any time introduced, if it was not from the first necessary. The pride of the human heart would at all times have revolted at the imposition of such a humiliation, as that of confessing all its most secret sins, if Christians had not previously believed that this rite is of divine institution, and even necessary for the pardon of them. Supposing, however, that the clergy, at some period, had fascinated the laity, kings and emperors, as well as peasants, to submit to this yoke; it will still remain to be accounted for, how they took it up themselves; for monks, and priests, and bishops, and the pope himself, must equally confess their sins with the meanest of the people. And if even this could be explained, it would still be necessary to shew how the numerous organized churches of the Nestorians and Eutychians, spread over Asia and Africa, from Bagdad to Axum, all of whom broke from the communion of the Catholic Church in the fifth century, took up the notion of penance being a sacrament, and that confession and absolution are essential parts of it, as they all believe at the present day. With respect to the main body of the Greek Christians, they separated from the Latins much about the period which our prelate has set down for the rise of this doctrine: but though they reproached the Latin Christians with shaving their beards, singing hallelujah at wrong seasons, and other such minutiae, they never accused them of any error respecting private confession or sacerdotal absolution. To support the bishop's assertion on this and many other points, it would be necessary to suppose, as I have said before, that a hundred million of Greek and Latin Christians lost their senses on some one and same day or night!

In finishing this letter, I take leave, reverend sir, to advert to the case of some of your respectable society, who, to my knowledge, are convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, but are deterred from embracing it, by dread of that sacrament of which I have been treating. Their pitiable case is by no means singular: we continually find persons who are not only desirous of reconciling themselves to their true mother, the Catholic Church, but also of laying *the sins of their youth and their ignorances*, Ps. xxiv. alias xxv. 7, at the feet of some one or other of her faithful ministers, convinced that thereby ~~they~~ they would procure ease to their afflicted souls, yet

have not the courage to do this. Let the persons alluded to humbly and fervently pray to *the Giver of all good gifts* for his strengthening grace, and let them be persuaded of the truth of what an unexceptionable witness says, who had experienced, while he was a Catholic, the interior joy he describes; where, persuading the penitent to go to his confessor, "not as to one that can speak comfortable and quieting words to him, but as to one that has authority delegated to him, from God himself, to absolve and acquit him of his sins," he goes on: "If you shall do this, assure your souls that the understanding of man is not able to conceive that transport and excess of joy and comfort, which shall accrue to that man's heart, who is persuaded he hath been made partaker of this blessing." (1) On the other hand, if such persons are convinced, as I am satisfied they are, that Christ's words to his apostles, *Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall remit, they are remitted*, mean what they express, they must know that confession is necessary to buy off overwhelming confusion, as the fathers I have quoted signify, at the great day of manifestation, and with this never-ending punishment.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER LII.—To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, A. M.

REV. SIR,—When I look back on the subjects I have been treating of, or forward to those which I am about to take in hand, I am lost in wonder at the confidence with which the protesting sects and individuals respectively maintain that the words of scripture are clearly in their favour, while experience proves that they agree in nothing but in opposing the doctrine and authority of that unerring Church, which the scripture so emphatically orders them to hear and obey. Thus, to cast a glance on the matter which have been handled, the blessed sacrament, Luther being intent, as he acknowledges, on spiting the pope, (2) denied transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass, but fiercely maintained it to be evident in scripture that the bread and wine are *consubstantiated* with the flesh and blood of Christ; when pre-

(1) Chillingworth, Sermon vii. p. 409.

(2) Epist. ad Argentor.

rently he was corrected by his disciple Osiander, Cranmer's brother-in-law, who denied this co-existence, and affirmed that nothing could be clearer in scripture than the hypotactical or personal union of Christ with the bread; in consequence of which, it would be equally true to say: *Christ is bread, or bread is Christ*. Nay, said Carlostad, Luther's earliest disciple, it is unquestionable that when Christ said: *This is my body*, he pointed to his body, and that he meant no more than his words express: *This body is my body*. To this Zuinglius answered, *A spirit appeared to me by night, whether black or white I forget*, (1) and suggested to me a more simple explanation of those words, namely, the words *This IS my body*, means, *this REPRESENTS my body*. Finally, Calvin interposed, and maintained the strict meaning of the words, but, at the same time, eluded that meaning, by saying Christ is *corporally present*, but in a *spiritual way*; he is really *manducated*, but *by an act of mind, not of the body*. To this opinion, Cranmer, after his master, the duke of Somerset, appears to have finally subscribed, some time about the year 1550. In the meantime the Catholics alone, while they are accused by all the concurring sectaries of abandoning the literal and obvious sense of Scripture, are demonstratively the Christians who adhere to it.

But to return to the subject of my last letter; the vicar makes an awkward excuse for not treating of it with the other points of the existing controversy in full detail, under pretence that he has discussed them in his *Answer to Ward*, which is, in a great measure, false, and which, upon the whole, is clearly seen to be an excuse for not meeting that opponent, whom he had boasted of defeating at every point. After this, he tries to vindicate the late bishop Porteus's forced construction of Christ's commission to the apostles, when, *breathing upon them, he said: Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven to them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained*: John, xx. 22. These important words, which the Catholic Church understands in their plain natural meaning, signify, according to the late bishop and the present vicar, "the power of discerning by the spirit, and of declaring who were penitent and pardoned, and who were not, and of inflicting miraculous punishments on wicked persons, which is binding their sins, and of removing such punishments, which is loosing their sins. (2)

(1) De Subsid. Eachar. (2) Porteus's Confutation of the Errors, &c. p. 44; 45.

Do pray, my dear sir, read over again the text of St. John, together with these reverend divines' exposition of it, and then say, whether in your opinion Luther's burlesque translation of the first words of Genesis (1) was ever more applicable to a scriptural exposition than it is to theirs. Nor is their exposition of the Catholic doctrine of absolution, when they compare it with their own, one whit more faithful. In fact, they represent it to be a claim on our part to a discretionary power of pardoning or refusing to pardon persons without distinction, whether right or wrong. (2) All converts know, dear sir, whether such doctrine as this was inculcated to them when they became Catholic: or rather, they know that the very reverse was impressed on their minds; namely, that no confession, nor any absolution whatever, could avail them, without *sincere sorrow*, a *firm purpose of amendment*, and of *making reparation* for the injuries they may have been guilty of against others to the uttermost of their power; and the vicar knows this also, as it stands so conspicuous in the decrees of the council which he refers to, (3) and in all our catechetical instructions, if he would but speak the truth. But the most flagrant infidelity of all others on the part of the vicar in this matter, because it is accompanied with most ostentation and insult, consists in his shameful misrepresentation of my appeal to the testimony of the famous Chillingworth, in opposition to bishop Porteus. Having then quoted, at full length, the clear and nervous text of St John, xx. 22, 23: *whose sins you shall forgive, &c.* as likewise the bishop's absurd construction of it; namely, that they do not imply real power of *forgiving sins*, but only "a power of *declaring who are truly penitent and pardoned*, and of *inflicting miraculous punishments*, and of *preaching the word of God*, I opposed to this construction Chillingworth's emphatical language, in which, after mentioning Christ's "breathing on his apostles, and thereby conveying and insinuating the Holy Ghost into their hearts, he renewed (says Chillingworth) or rather confirmed and sealed unto them that glorious commission whereby he delegated unto them an authority of binding and loosing sins upon earth, with a promise that the proceedings in the court of heaven should be directed and regulated by those on earth." (4) I then cited the author's exhortation to his flock, in his following page, in consequence of the above

(1) "In the beginning the cuckoo eat up the sparrow and its feathers."

(2) Confut. 44. Reply, p. 56. (3) Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. c. 4, p. 120, &c.

(4) Sermon vii. Relig. of Protest. p. 408.

doctrine: "Therefore, I beseech you... that you will not suffer that commission which Christ has given to his ministers to be a vain form of words: Have recourse to your spiritual physicianas... to one that hath authority delegated to him from God himself, to absolve and acquit you of your sins." (1) The whole of this acute author's reasoning on the subject is too long and verbose for insertion here: but it will appear to any one, who will take the trouble to consult his book, that there is not a word in it, either on his own part or archbishop Usher's, whom he cites, which does not confirm the point for which I quoted him, namely, that in his opinion, and in that of his church, at the time when he wrote it, Christ had given to the latter a *real power*, no less efficient in heaven than on earth, of *absolving and acquitting sinners of their sins*, and not the bare illusory power of *declaring who are penitent*. &c. True it is, that Chillingworth says, in a paragraph preceding the quoted one, in the words of archbishop Usher (after saying much in commendation of the confession of sins), "the thing which we reject is that new pick-lock of sacramental confession, obtruded on men's consciences, as a matter *necessary to salvation* by the conventicle of Trent." (2) But how does the latter passage contradict the former? And why should I not quote Chillingworth, where he maintains the *efficacy of absolution*, because he elsewhere denies the necessity of *sacramental confession*? There is not a word omitted in my quotations that weakens or qualifies, in the smallest degree, my assertions on the subject, or that adds the least strength to his: nor is there the shadow of any fraud on my part, though the vicar affects to triumph over me through several of his pages, as if he had convicted me of one. No, sir, the fraud is on his side, and a shameful fraud it is; where he publishes the following deliberate falsehood, for the purpose of mis-stating the fundamental ground of the controversy between us. "Dr. Milner makes him (Chillingworth) argue for the necessity of sacramental confession." Nor is there less but rather more multiplied fraud, where he pretends to shew that "there are no discordant opinions on the subject," but *the most "perfect harmony"* between the two divines," Chillingworth and Porteus.

The vicar disclaims all concern with "Luther's ribaldrous trash," as he calls it, (who, by the by, was a much greater divine than either of the two he has just been praising); but, in thus abusing the chief apostle of Protestantism, he equally

(1) Serm. vii. Relig. of Protest. p. 399. (2) Ibid. v. 403.

abuses the next to him in authority, Melancthon, and the confession of Augsburg, which is acknowledged to be the prototype of the English articles, (1) and of course Cranmer and Ridley, the immediate authors of those articles and the whole liturgy, under the orders of the duke of Somerset. I did not indeed "attempt to prove that the church of England, in Edward the sixth's reign, held that a particular absolution was *necessary* in confession," as the reverend vicar falsely asserts; yet I proved, from the *liturgy* itself, from the *acts of the conference at Hampton court*, from the *established form of ordaining priests*, and from other arguments, that the church of England, then at least, considered her *absolution* as a *real acquittance from sin*, and not an empty *declaration that the sinner is penitent and pardoned*, according to the bishop and the vicar's explanation of it. I likewise proved that *auricular* and *secret confession* to the priest (2) was strongly recommended by that church, as indeed it is to *dying persons*; (3) the whole of which doctrine and ordinances, put together, I confess I am unable to *reconcile with itself*, at the same time that it evidently overturns Dr. Porteus' and the vicar's system. I cannot quit this point without expressing my wish to know what idea the vicar affixed to the form by which he was ordained, being the same with that which completes the character of the Catholic priesthood: "*Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, &c.*" Did he fancy that he then barely received a commission to *declare* that certain sinners are penitent and pardoned? But this the town-crier, without any ordination at all, can declare full as well as he can!

It is evident how much the vicar is annoyed with the exposure of the doctrines and forms of his own church in this matter, by the flimsy and imaginary pretexts and distinctions he resorts to for evading their consequences. The first of these is, that Cranmer's liturgy contains the following ordinance respecting absolution which, he says, "Dr. Milner prudently withheld," "unless *restitution be made* to your neighbour, neyther the absolution of the priest can any thing avail:" just as if Catholics held that absolution is available without making satisfaction to the injured neighbour! You

(1) "It is generally believed that Cranmer and Ridley were chiefly concerned in framing the forty-two articles, upon which our thirty-nine are founded. They followed principally the Augsburg Confession, which was drawn up by Melancthon." *Elem. of Theol. by Dr. Tomline*, vol. ii. p. 25.

(2) See king Edward's order of Communion: B. Sparrow. Col. p. 24.

(3) See Rubric in Visit of Sick. Com. Prayer.

know the contrary, dear sir, and so does the vicar: but he was pressed for a pretext! His second distinction is, that the practice of confessing sins is *obligatory* in the Catholic, but *discretionary* in the established church. Be it so: but this does not prove that the latter did not formerly, nor indeed that she does not still, believe in the efficacy of sacerdotal absolution. In the mean time, I would ask any serious Christian this question: In case Jesus Christ has left in the Church a *power of remitting sin* to the truly penitent (and the same is to be said with respect to the ordinance of the eucharist), which church acts the part of a true mother towards her children, the ancient church, which *obliges them to avail themselves*, at stated times, of the spiritual benefit, or the new one, which does not *require this* of them at any time? His next argument I shall barely state, without attempting to answer it. He alleges that though the minister of his church "is directed in the rubric *to move* the sick man to make a special confession of his sins, yet in the rubric immediately preceding, he is *earnestly* (in italics) *moved*, to be liberal to the poor. The vicar's last argument against the priest's possessing a judiciary power in the forgiveness of sins is expressed in these terms: "as if the Almighty's will were to depend on the decision of a fallible creature, and his justice to be dispensed at the discretion of man! It is certain that after the effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, a power of this kind was vested in the apostles, &c." But is not this sarcasm as strictly applicable to the sacrament of baptism as to that of penance? And did the Almighty's will, even after the day of Pentecost, depend on the decision of the apostles?

The vicar has relieved me from the task of stating in greater detail the doctrine of the ancient fathers on the subjects of confession and absolution, because, notwithstanding his threat of "depriving Dr. Milner of their adventitious aid," he has not ventured to grapple with any one of those whom I have already brought against him; nor has he even attempted to answer that short and convincing argument, which I brought to shew that the obligation of confession in particular, could not have been palmed or forced upon Christians at any time whatsoever; he himself assigns the cause, though in offensive terms, where he calls it, "a religious slavery" on the part of the people, and "a spiritual dominion" on the part of the clergy; for neither would Christians in general have submitted to the former at any period whatsoever, if they had not believed, from their infancy, that this practice is of divine

institution and necessary; nor would the clergy have imposed this yoke upon *their own necks*, which we see them universally bear. from the lowest clerk up to the sovereign pontiff himself. And it is to be observed, that, when I speak of *Christians* in general, I speak of all the inhabitants, during most of the ages since that of the apostles. of Italy, France, Spain, the British islands, Scandinavia, Germany, Greece, with all the great patriarchates of Asia and Africa, who have been divided from the Latin church. some of them since the fifth. others since the twelfth century, all of whom have ever acknowledged, and still acknowledge, the necessity and efficacy of the sacrament of penance, consisting of contrition, confession, and satisfaction, joined with the priest's absolution. The vicar may sneer at my argument, from his inability to answer it, but I repeat, with respect to the practice of confession in particular, what I said concerning the Catholic religion in general; there is no way of accounting for its commencement at any time since that of Christ, but by supposing that all the above-mentioned hundreds of millions of rational beings went to bed Protestants and awoke the next morning Papists!

I am yours, &c. JOHN MILNER.

ON INDULGENCES.

LETTER LIII.—*To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.*

REV. SIR,—BISHOP Porteus reverses the proper order of the subjects noticed in this and my next letter, namely, indulgences and purgatory, by treating first of the latter: indeed his ideas are much confused, and his knowledge very imperfect concerning them both. This prelate describes an indulgence to be, in the belief of Catholics (without, however, giving any authority whatever for his description), “a transfer of the overplus of the saint's goodness, joined with the merits of Christ, &c. by the pope, as head of the church, towards the remission of their sins, who fulfil, in their life-time, certain conditions appointed by him, or whose friends will fulfil them after their death” (1) He speaks of it, as “a method of making poor wretches believe that wickedness here may be come consistent with happiness hereafter—that repentance is explained away or overlooked among other things joined

(1) Confut. of Popery, p. 53.

with it, as saying so many prayers and paying so much money." (1) Some of the bishop's friends have published much the same description of indulgences, but in more perspicuous language. (2) One of them, in his attempt to shew that each pope in succession has been the *man of sin*, or anti-christ, says: "Besides their own personal vices, by their indulgences, pardons, and dispensations, which they claim a power from Christ of granting, and which they have sold in so infamous a manner, they have encouraged all manner of vile and wicked practices. They have contrived numberless methods of making a holy life useless, and to assure the most abandoned of salvation, provided they will sufficiently pay the priests for absolution." (3) With the same disregard of charity and truth, another eminent divine speaks of the matter thus: "The Papists have taken a notable course to secure men from the fear of hell, that of penances and indulgences. To those, who will pay the price, absolutions are to be had for the most abominable and not to be named villanies, and license also for not a few wickednesses." (4) In treating of a subject, the most intricate of itself among the common topics of controversy, and which has been so much confused and perplexed by the misrepresentations of our opponents, it will be necessary, for giving you, reverend sir, and my other Salopian friends, a clear and just idea of the matter, that I should advance step by step in my explanation of it. In this manner I propose shewing you, first, what an indulgence is not, and, next, what it really is.

1. An indulgence, then, never was conceived by any Catholic to be a leave to commit a sin of any kind, as De Coetlogon, bishop Fowler, and others, charge them with believing. The first principles of natural religion must convince every rational being, that God himself cannot give leave to commit sin. The idea of such a license takes away that of his sanctity, and of course that of his very being. 2. No Catholic ever believed it to be a pardon for future sins, as Mrs. Hannah More, and a great part of other Protestant writers represent the matter. This lady represents the Catholics as "procuring indemnity for future gratifications by abstractions and indulgences, purchased at the court of Rome." (5) Some of her fraternity, indeed, have blasphemously written: "Be-
nevers ought not to mourn for sin, because it was pardoned

(1) Conf. p. 54. (2) Benson on the Man of Sin, rep. by bp. Watson, Tracts, vol. v. p. 273. (3) Bishop Fowler's Design of Christianity Tracts, vol. vi. 382. (4) Benson on the Man of Sin, Collect. (5) Strictures on Female Education, vol. ii. p. 239.

before it was committed ;" (1) but every Catholic knows, that Christ himself could not pardon sin before it was committed, because this would imply that he forgave the sinner without repentance. 3. An indulgence, according to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, is not, and does not include, the pardon of any sin at all, little or great, past, present, or to come, or the eternal punishment due to it, as all Protestants suppose. Hence, if the pardon of sin is mentioned in any indulgence, this means nothing more than the remission of the *temporary punishments* annexed to such sin. 4. We do not believe an indulgence to imply any exemption from repentance, as bishop Porteus slanders us ; for this is always enjoined or implied in the grant of it, and is indispensably necessary for the effect of every grace ;" (2) nor from the works of penance, or other good works ; because our Church teaches, that the " life of a Christian ought to be a perpetual penance, (3) and that to *enter into life* we must *keep God's commandments*, (4) and must *abound in every good work*." (5) Whether an obligation of all this can be reconciled with the articles of being " justified by faith only," (6) and that " works done before grace partake of the nature of sin," (7) I do not here inquire. 5. It is inconsistent with our doctrine of *inherent justification*, (8) to believe, as the same prelate charges us, that the effect of an indulgence is to transfer " the overplus of the goodness, or justification of the saints, by the ministry of the pope, to us Catholics on earth. Such an absurdity may be more easily reconciled with the system of Luther and other Protestants concerning *imputed justification*, which, being like a " clean neat cloak thrown over a filthy leper," (9) may be conceived transferable from one person to another.—Lastly, whereas the council of Trent calls indulgences *heavenly treasures*, (10) we hold that it would be a sacrilegious crime in any person whomsoever, to be con-

(1) Honycomb of Salvation. Sir R. Hill's Lett. (2) Con. Trid. Sess. vi. c. 4, c. 13, &c. (3) Sess. xiv. De Extr. Unc. (4) Sess. vi. can. 19. (5) Ibid. cap. 16.—N. B. There are eight indulgences granted to the Catholics of England, at the chief festivals in every year ; the conditions of which are, confession *with sincere repentance*, the holy communion, alms to the poor (without distinction of their religion), prayers for the Church and strayed souls, the peace of Christendom, and the blessing of God on this nation ; finally, a disposition to hear the word of God, and to assist the sick. See the *Garden of the Soul*, and other Catholic books of *prayer*, sold by Andrews, 3, Duke-street, Little Britain, London. (6) Art. XL of 39 Art. (7) Art. XIII. (8) Trid. Sess. vi. can. 11. (9) Becanus de Justif. (10) Sess. xxi. c. 9.

cerned in buying or selling them. I am far, however, reverend sir, from denying that indulgences have ever been sold: (1) alas! what is so sacred that the avarice of man has not put up to sale! Christ himself was sold, and that by an apostle, for thirty pieces of silver. I do not retort upon you the advertisements I frequently see in the newspapers about buying and selling benefices, with the care of souls annexed to them, in your church; but this I contend for, that the Catholic Church, so far from sanctioning this detestable simony, has used her utmost pains, particularly in the general councils of Lateran, Lyons, Vienne, and Trent, to prevent it.

To explain now in a clear and regular manner what an indulgence is; I suppose, first, that no one will deny that a sovereign prince, in shewing mercy to a capital convict, may either grant him a remission of all punishment, or may leave him subject to some lighter punishment: of course, he will allow that the Almighty may act in either of these ways with respect to sinners. 2. I equally suppose that no person, who is versed in the bible, will deny that many instances occur there of God's remitting the essential guilt of sin and the eternal punishment to be endured by the penitent sinner. Thus, for example, the sentence of spiritual death and everlasting torments was remitted to our first father upon his repentance; but not that of corporal death. Thus, also, when God reversed his severe sentence against the idolatrous Israelites, he added: *Nevertheless, in the day when I visit, I will visit their sin upon them.* Exod. xxxii. 34. Thus, again, when the inspired Nathan said to the model of penitents, David: *The Lord hath put away thy sin,* he added: *nevertheless, the child that is born unto thee shall die.* 2 Kings, alias Sam. xii. 14. Finally, when David's heart smote him after he had numbered the people, the Lord, in pardoning him, offered him by his prophet Gad the choice of three temporal punishments, war, famine, or pestilence. *Ibid* xxiv. 3. The Catholic Church teaches that the same is still the common course of God's mercy and wisdom in the forgiveness of sins committed by baptism; since she has formally condemned the proposition, that "every penitent sinner, who, after the grace of justification, obtains the remission of his *guilt* and *eternal* punishment, obtains also the

(1) The bishop tells us that he is in possession of an indulgence, lately granted at Rome, for a small sum of money; but, he does not say who granted it. In like manner he may buy forged bank notes and counterfeit coin in London very cheap, if he pleases.

remission of all *temporal* punishment." (1) The essential guilt and eternal punishment of sin, she declares can only be expiated by the precious merits of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ; but a certain temporal punishment God reserves for the penitent himself to endure, "lest the easiness of his pardon should make him careless about falling back into sin." (2) Hence *satisfaction* for this temporal punishment has been instituted by Christ as a part of the sacrament of penance; and hence "a Christian life," as the council has said above, "ought to be a penitential life." This council at the same time declares that this very satisfaction for temporal punishment is *only efficacious through Jesus Christ*. (3) Nevertheless, as the promise of Christ to the apostles, to St. Peter in particular, and to the successors of the apostles, is unlimited—**WHATSOEVER you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven**, Matt. xviii. 18. xvi. 19.—hence the Church believes and teaches that her jurisdiction extends to this very satisfaction, so as to be able to remit it wholly or partially, in certain circumstances, by what is called an **INDULGENCE**. (4) St. Paul exercised this power in behalf of the incestuous Corinthian on his conversion, and at the prayers of the faithful, 2 Cor. ii. 10; and the Church has claimed and exercised the same power ever since the time of the apostles down to the present. (5) 4. Still this power, like that of absolution, is not arbitrary; there must be a just cause for the exercise of it; namely, the greater good of the penitent, or of the faithful, or of Christendom in general: and there must be a certain proportion between the punishment remitted and the good work performed. (6) Hence no one can ever be sure that he has gained the entire benefit of an indulgence, though he has performed all the conditions appointed for this end: (7) and hence, of course, the pastors of the Church will have to answer for it, if they take upon themselves to grant indulgences for unworthy or insufficient purposes. 5. Lastly, it is the received doctrine of the Church, that an indulgence, when truly gained, is not barely a relaxation of the canonical penance enjoined by the Church, but also an actual remission by God himself of the whole or part of the temporal punishment due to it in his sight. The contrary opinion, though

(1) Conc. Trid. Sess. vi. can. 30. (2) Sess. vi. cap. 7, cap. 14. Sess. xv. cap. 8. (3) Sess. xiv. 8. (4) Trid. Sess. xxv. De Indulg. (5) Tertul. in Lib. ad Martyr. c. l. St. Cyprian. l. 3. Epist. Concil. i. Nic. Ancy. &c. (6) Bellarm. lib. i. De Indulg. c. 12. (7) Ibid.

held by some theologians, has been condemned by Læo X. (1) and Pius VI: (2) and, indeed, without the effect here mentioned, indulgences would not be *heavenly treasures*, and the use of them would not be *beneficial*, but rather *pernicious*, to Christians, contrary to two declarations of the last general council, as Bellarmin well argues. (3)

The above explanation of an indulgence, conformably to the doctrine of theologians, the decrees of popes and the definitions of councils, ought to silence the objections and suppress the sarcasms of Protestants on this head: but if it be not sufficient for such purpose, I would gladly argue a few points with them concerning their own indulgences. Methinks, reverend sir, I see you start at the mention of this, and hear you ask: What Protestants hold the doctrine of indulgences? I answer you, all the leading sects of them with which I am acquainted. To begin with the Church of England: One of the first articles I meet with in its canons regards *indulgences*, and the use that is to be made of the *money paid for them*. (4) In the synod of 1640, a canon was made, which authorized the employment of commutation-money, namely, of such sums as were paid for indulgences from ecclesiastical penances, not only in charitable, but also in *public* uses. (5) At this period, the established clergy were devoting all the money they could any way procure to the war which Charles I. was preparing, in defence of the church and state, against the Presbyterians of Scotland and England. &c

(1) Art. 19, inter Art. Damn. Lutheri. (2) Const. *Auctor. Fid.*
 (3) L. i. c. 7, prop. 4. (4) "Ne quæ fiat posthac solemnitas penitentiarum commutatio nisi rationibus, gravioribusque de causis, &c. Deinde quod mulcta illa pecuniaria vel in relevam pauperum, vel in alios pios usus erogatetur." Articuli pro Clero, A. D. 1584, Sparrow, p. 194. The next article is, "De moderandis quibusdam indulgentiis pro celebratione matrimonii," &c. p. 195. These indulgences were renewed, under the same titles, in the synod held in London in 1597. Sparrow, pp. 248. 252.
 (5) "That no chancellor, commissary or official, shall have power to commute any penance, in whole or in part; but either, together with the bishop, &c. that he shall give a full and just account of such commutations to the bishop, who shall see that all such moneys shall be disposed of for charitable and public uses, according to law—saving always to ecclesiastical officers their *due and accustomed fees*." Canon. 14. Sparrow, p. 368. In the remonstrance of grievances presented by a committee of the Irish parliament to Charles I. one of them was, that "Several bishops received great sums of money for *commutation of penance* (that is, for indulgences), which they converted to their own use." Commons. Journ. quoted by Curry, vol. i. p. 169.

that, in fact, the money then raised by indulgences was employed in a real crusade. It has been before stated, that the second offspring of Protestantism, the Anabaptists, claimed an indulgence from God himself, in quality of his chosen ones, to despoil the impious, that is, all the rest of mankind, of their property; while the genuine Calvinists of all times have ever maintained, that Christ has set them free from the observance of every law of God as well as of man. Agreeably to this tenet, Sir Richard Hill says: "It is a most pernicious error of the schoolmen to distinguish sins according to *the fact*, and not according to the person." (1) With respect to patriarch Luther, it is notorious that he was in the habit of granting indulgences of various kinds to himself and his disciples. Thus, for example, he dispensed with himself and Catharine Boren from their vows of a religious life, and particularly that of celibacy: and even preached up adultery in his public sermons. (2) In like manner he published bulls, authorizing the robbery of bishops and bishoprics, and the murder of popes and cardinals. But the most celebrated of his indulgences is that which, in conjunction with Bucer and Melancthon, he granted to Philip, landgrave of Hesse, to marry a second wife, his former being living, in consideration, for so it is stated, of his protection of Protestantism. (3) But if any credit is due to this same Bucer, who for his learning was invited by Cranmer and the duke of Somerset into England, and made the divinity professor of Cambridge, the whole business of the pretended reformation was an indulgence for liberalism. His words are these: "The greater part of the people seem only to have embraced the gospel in order to shake off the yoke of discipline, and the obligation of fasting, penance, &c. which lay upon them in Popery, and to live at their pleasure, enjoying their lusts and lawless appetites without control. Hence they lent a willing ear to the doctrine that we are saved by faith alone, and not by good works, having no relish for them." (4)

I am, yours, &c.

JOHN MILNER

(1) Fletcher's Checks, vol. iii. (2) "Si nolit Domina, veniat ancilla, &c." Sermon de Matrim. t. v. (3) This infamous indulgence, with the deeds belonging to it, was published from the original by permission of a descendant of the landgrave, and republished by Bossuet. Variat. b. vi.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER LIV. - *To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M.A.*

REV. SIR,—The present subject being complex of itself, and that which most of all others is misrepresented by Dr. Porteus and other Protestant polemics, I took special pains to shew, first, what an indulgence upon Catholic principles *is not*; secondly, *what it is*; and on this, as well as on other points of Catholic doctrine, I claimed to be believed in preference to Dr. Porteus and, the Rev. Mr. Grier, in the hearing of the other pastors of the Catholic Church, and of its head pastor in particular, with a consciousness of being liable to be called to an account, if I misrepresented the tenets of that Church. I denied then, in opposition to the impious calumnies of bishop Fowler, (1) the Rev. Mr. Benson, (2) Mr. C. De Coetlogen, (3) &c. that an indulgence, upon Catholic principles, consists in *a license to commit sin*; and, in opposition to Mrs. Hannah More, that it consists in *the pardon of future sins*, (4) and in opposition to almost all Protestants, that it consists in *the pardon of any sins at all*, or in *a transfer of the overplus of the goodness of the saints, joined with the goodness of Christ*, as the late bishop of London and the vicar of Templebodane have injuriously published. In the last place, I proved that the indulgences of the Catholic Church being, as she terms them, *heavenly treasures*, (5) it would be at all times a heinous and sacrilegious crime for any person whomsoever to pretend to sell or buy them. Hence, as I have shewn, the Catholic Church in all her general councils, for a great many ages past, has exerted her utmost power to prevent such detestable simony in all its shapes; while the vicar, though he specially treats of the subject, is unable to shew any means that have been taken to put a stop to those advertisements, which, as the writer observed, continually appear in our newspapers, for the sale and purchase of ecclesiastical benefices, *with the cure of souls*.

Having dissipated the abovementioned false notions and descriptions of a Catholic indulgence, I further shewed what it really is; namely, *a total or partial remission of the tem-*

(1) See his Treatise in B. Watson's Collect. vol. vi. p. 382. (2) Ibid. vol. v. p. 273. (3) Seasonable Caut. (4) Strict. on Fem. Educ. vol. ii. (5) Trid. Sess. xxi. de Indulg.

porary punishment, which, in the general economy of God's justice, remains due to sin, after the essential guilt of it, and the eternal punishment due to it, have been remitted through the merits of Jesus Christ. That such temporary punishment is frequently reserved for the sinner, after his guilt has been forgiven, I have proved from scripture, tradition, and our own bitter experience. (1) Instead, however, of replying to these weighty reasons, or going into the substance of the cause, the vicar amuses himself with arguing that it is the right method to treat of purgatory *before* indulgences, because the unprincipled Jewel says: "Take away purgatory and what need is there of indulgences?" Just as if the church of England and the kirk of Scotland, after taking away purgatory, had not still the former its *white sheet*, and the latter its *stool of repentance*, together with the claim of granting an *indulgence* from the disgrace of these, in consideration of another more beneficial penalty! That the established church claims and exercises this power of *indulgence*, by what is called a *commutation of penance*, I proved by several of her canons. I likewise brought proof that the money which was raised by the commutations in question, was frequently diverted to other improper purposes: (2) but I was not so unjust as on that account to charge the church of England with selling licenses to defame our neighbours, to get drunk, to swear profanely, to commit fornication, &c. for specific sums of money, in the manner that he charges the Catholic Church with the blasphemies and absurdities of friar Tetzels, in the sixteenth century (in case he was really guilty of uttering them). The vicar bears testimony to the piety and benefit of indulgences, as they existed in the primitive Church, and then falsely accused the popes with having perverted them in the eleventh century, namely, by that discipline which ed Christianity from being over-run and trodden to dust in Europe by the ferocious and impious Mahometans as it had been in Asia and Africa. Descending to the time of Luther, the vicar makes amends to this his spiritual father, for all the abuse he had heaped upon him in his foregoing pages, by the commendations he bestows upon his opposition to indulgences. It is proper, however, he should know that

(1) Viz. The temporal death, sickness, &c. to which we are still subject. (2) The learned and conciliatory rector of Southreps, in Norfolk, the Rev. G. Glover, A. M. in his *Remarks on Bishop Marsh's Comparative View*, produce proofs of money being received in the diocese of Chester, as a *commutation of penance*, otherwise for a *Protestant indulgence*, so late as the year 1735. *Remarks*, p. 73.

the German monk at first only condemned the abuse of them, and that on becoming incensed against the pope, when he fell foul of indulgences themselves, by a natural course of reasoning, he denied the utility of good works in general, together with free-will, attributing the whole of man's justification to the *imputation*, or lending of Christ's merits to him. (1) The vicar now proceeds to excuse the solemn indulgence granted by Luther, Melanethon, our divinity-professor of Cambridge, Bueer, and five other Protestant pastors to Philip landgrave of Hesse to have two wives at the same time, on account of "the peculiar circumstances in which he (Luther) was placed—being surrounded (he says) by malignant enemies, while he was fearful of risking the loss of a powerful friend, who would probably have increased their strength in the event of a refusal!" (2) He then calls this celebrated indulgence granted by Luther and his seven leading apostles to the prince of Hesse, "an *isolated instance* and a *single exception* to the manner in which the reformers proceeded;" after which he talks of "numberless indulgences granted by the bishops of Rome," &c. How much the vicar imposes upon his readers, in this account of the reformer's *manner of proceeding in this business*, I need no other testimony than that of his own venerable Cranmer, who, in a letter to his brother-in-law, Oslander, reproaches these German divines not only with "permitting the younger sons of noblemen to entertain strumpets, in order to prevent the parcelling out of their estates,"—but also with "allowing a man a plurality of wives, without the ceremony of a divorce:"—adding, "that this is a matter of fact you acquainted me in some of your letters; as also that Melancthon himself was present at one of these weddings." (3) With respect to "the indulgences of the bishops of Rome," the whole that the vicar ventures to say of them, respecting the point in question, is to ask:

Will Dr. M. believe that pope Clement VII. made the offer of an indulgence to Henry VIII. through Casalis, his ambassador,

(1) See Luther, *De Serro Arbitrio*, &c. (2) The vicar suppresses the chief motive for Luther's granting this indulgence. This is expressed by the prince, his patron, in his instructions to Bueer, who was his envoy to Luther for procuring the indulgence. His words are these: "I am sensible that with the wife I have, I neither can nor will mend my life, whereof I take God to witness: so that I find no means of amendment but by the remedies God afforded the people of old, that is to say, polygamy." The authentic documents of this whole transaction were published from his records by Charles Count Palatine, and are abridged by Bossuet. *Variat. b. vi.* (3) Collier's *Ecc. Hist.* P. ii. p. 5^a

that he might have two wives?" I distinctly answer him, that I will not believe it: 1st. because the letter which he refers to in lord Herbert's history (which is also contained in Burnet's Collection) implies no such offer; secondly, because if the pope had made such an offer, it cannot be supposed that he would have excommunicated the king for actually marrying a second wife, the former being living, as he really did: thirdly, because it is still less to be supposed that Henry, Cranmer, and the rest of the courtiers, would have refrained from publishing this offer, in defence of the second marriage, when it did take place; and again afterwards by way of reproach to Clement for issuing his bull of excommunication. But though the pope did not consent to the polygamy in question, the abovenamed heads of Protestantism in Germany *did consent to it and even advised it*; for in those very instructions which the landgrave gave to his envoy Bucer, for obtaining their permission for his second marriage, he distinctly states, that "to his knowledge Luther and Melancthon advised the king of England not to break off his marriage with the queen his wife, but besides her to marry another also." The vicar finishes his defence of Luther with the following words: "As to what Dr. M. says about Luther's *preaching up adultery*, it is to be utterly disregarded; for, often as the imputation has been repeated, it never yet came forward substantiated by an iota of evidence." In the *Letters to a Prebendary*, I gave this libertine reformer's expressions on this subject at great length, which I will again repeat in the original Latin, as it immoveably supports my assertion. (1) This being done, I should wish to ask Mr. Grier to his face, before respectable persons, the following question: *When you affirm, sir, that the charge against Luther of preaching up adultery has never been substantiated by an iota of evidence, do you mean to deny that the extract from his sermon quoted in the note, is an exhortation to adultery? Or do you deny that the extract quoted from Luther's works is genuine?* In the former case I will leave to you the opinion of your friends and patrons, as well as of the learned world in general. In the latter case, I pledge myself to send the volume of Luther's works containing the passage for you or your friends' inspection, on any day you

(1) "Tertia ratio divortii est ubi alter alteri subduxerit, ut debitam benevolentiam persolvere nolit, aut habitare cum renuerit. Hic opportunum est: ut maritus dicat: *Si tu nolueris, altera volet: si domus ancilla.*" Serm. de Matrim. Opera Luth. tom. v. fol. 123,

may appoint. My edition of Luther is in eight folio volumes, published at Wirtemberg, by Melancthon.

The vicar expresses himself in his present letter very indignant at my disbelief of a certain fabricated and absurd paper of indulgences, which Dr. Porteus certified to be in his possession, having been bought at Rome, he says, for a small sum by a friend of his. I never questioned his lordship's veracity in this matter, or doubted of his possessing the paper in question: all that I answered was, that he might buy forged notes and counterfeit coin for still less money than was paid for that paper. He is likewise much displeased with the indulgence published by the late bishop Moylan, for the consecration of his North chapel at Cork, and not a little jealous of the solemnity attending that ceremony (which probably he witnessed as well as myself), and of the vast crowd of people who assisted at it, compared with those who went to the adjoining cathedral church. To this I answered that he cannot deny that the conditions annexed to that indulgence by way of satisfaction, consisting of prayers, assisting at instructions, &c. are good ones; for the other parts of penance, contrition, confession, and restitution, where it was requisite, had gone before. With respect to the opinion and devotion of the people, it is plain that these cannot be commanded or controlled. They *love the beauty of God's house*, Ps. xxv. 8, though the vicar condemns it as "superfluous ornaments;" and they are delighted to see a number of their bishops assembled at such a ceremony, as they used to meet together on the same occasion in the reign of Constantine. Their love for the coadjutor prelate, Dr. J. Macarthy, who preached the consecration sermon, as I witnessed on a memorable occasion, was enthusiastic. In fact, the whole of his life, every day from morning to night, was taken up in doing the work of an apostle, till he happily closed it by dying the death of a martyr." (1) Finally, their veneration and devotion towards their great and good bishop, Dr. Moylan, were as boundless as his merits were. Loyal to his sovereign, he preserved peace in the south of Ireland, when Hochie's fleet, with *Emancipation* inscribed upon its flags, was on that coast; for which eminent service he received the thanks of the government, and the freedom of Cork and Drogheda. Jealous of the purity and faith of Ireland's morals, he repaired the injuries

(1) He died of an infectious fever, caught from a dying officer, who insisted on being attended by him, being perfectly sensible of the danger, and resigned to the fate.

done to it by other less worthy pastors, and for the same purpose instituted the order of the Visitation. Zealous for the cultivation and social benefits of its Catholic progeny, he founded and dispersed throughout it his charitable daughters of the Presentation.

Hic saltem accumulem dona.—VIRG

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE reverend vicar having referred to his *Answer to Ward's Errata*, for fuller refutation of several points of the Catholic doctrine than is contained in his present reply, I have consulted that work for what he says on the subject of indulgences. This is of great length, but consists chiefly of extracts from a work which, he says, "should never be overlooked when any question occurs, in which Popery is concerned. Its title, which is descriptive of its contents, runs thus: *The Book of Rates used in the Sin Custom House of the Court and Church of Rome, by Anthony Egan, B. D. formerly Confessor-General of Ireland.*" This work, according to the vicar, was published in 1809, by Baron Maseres, and an abridgment of it by Dr. Hales: the former of whom observes, that "it can never be unseasonable to expose a religion, so destructive to the peace of society, so derogatory to the glory of God, so contrary to the purpose of Christianity, &c." To be brief, the substance of this book is the same that has been published by other Protestant writers, under the name of *Taxa Cancellariæ Romanæ*, being the pretended prices required by the see of Rome for permission to commit a great variety of the most abominable sins, and to violate all kinds of oaths and vows; but as it differs in some remarkable particulars from the other works of the same nature, methinks an account of them will be interesting to you. The first particular that strikes me in friar Egan's and vicar Grier's table of licenses and dispensations, compared with those of other dealers in the same articles, is the great advance in their prices. For example, according to the Rev. C. De Coetlogon, you are charged no more than five sixpences for the crime of incest with a mother, six sixpences for that of debauching a virgin, the same for perjury, and only one crown with five groats for the murder of a father, mo-

ther, wife, &c. (1) Neither the Rev. Mr. Benson, in his *Man of Sin*, (2) nor De Banck, (3) according to my reckoning of French money, greatly exceeds this moderate charge, while Egan and Grier, dealing in nothing but pounds sterling and British shillings, charge 6*l.* 2*s.* "for the breach of an oath, which cannot be observed without incurring everlasting damnation" (if any one can understand this); 18*l.* 4*s.* "for commutation for murder;" 36*l.* 9*s.* "for permission to keep a woman;" "the same for a crusader, who neither kills nor wounds any one;" and 60*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* "for licenses for indulgences for colleges;" which article is as unintelligible as the former. Far more interesting and important is the following intelligence which the vicar publishes, on the authority of Egan: "That the book of rates is studiously withheld from ordinary priests, and that being classed amongst the *Arcana Imperii* of the papal court, is made known only to certain penitentiaries, to whom the absolution of particular and heinous sins is committed, and that, of such persons, there is one or two in every diocese in Ireland. Before these are vested with power, he says, they must take an oath of secrecy not to reveal the mysteries of their Church either to clergy or laity, or those suspected to be of so acute parts, or of so much learning and honesty, as might make them scruple their authority. With respect to those sins, called reserved cases, if a man acknowledge himself guilty of any such to an ordinary confessor, he can only tell him where the pope's banker resides, who will absolve him, so he brings with him the price of his sin." (4)

Instead of arguing with the vicar on the contents of this most extraordinary publication, which I have here abridged, I call upon him, as a gentleman and a clergyman, to answer me, whether, having reconsidered them, he still believes in them? If he answers affirmatively: then I charge him as a loyal subject and good citizen, to use the means he has in his hands, or can easily procure through the bishop of Meath, the Rev. Mr. Nolan, and others in their predicament, to find out, at least, who those detestable bankers are, that traffic in the vilest anti-christian and anti-social crimes which can be imagined, and to make them refund the wages of their iniquity. If he answer negatively; then I charge him to make that *restitution*, the making of which, after the commission of an injury, he has described to be characteristic of his church. Yes, he must do justice to the characters not only of the Ca

(1) Seasonable Cautions against the Abominations of the Church of Rome, p. 13: (2) B. Watson's Theol. Tr. Vol. v. p. 274. (3) Bayle's Dict. (4) Answer to Ward. p. 153.

tholic gentry, whose kindness he courts, but of the millions of his Catholic countrymen and fellow Christians, which he has outraged to the last degree: he must do it, I say, either spontaneously now, or by constraint at the great day of universal retribution. In the mean time, I will furnish the vicar and his two above-mentioned supporters, with a short account of friar Egan, from the pen of a Protestant of equal learning and integrity, I mean the historian of the university of Oxford, which will probably cause them to rank him in future with the Bowers, the Foudrineres, and the Dorans of later times. Wood writes thus: "In the month of June, this year 1673, came to the university of Oxford from London, an Irishman, called Anthony Egan, a Franciscan friar, and, in the beginning of July following, he was entered a student in the public library. This person had lately left the Roman Catholic religion, wherein he had been educated and professed, and under pretence of suffering for what he had done came to the university, more for the sake of relief than study. And after he had continued there about four months, in which time he obtained the charity of sixty pounds or more, he went to Cambridge, thinking to obtain there the like sum; and when that was done to return, as was generally reported, to his former religion. Among other things that he published are these: '*The Franciscan Convert*;' in the title-page of this he writes himself *Confessor General of the kingdom of Ireland, and Chaplain to many persons of quality there*: '*The Book of Rates in the Sin Custom-House*;' &c." (1)

J. M.

ON PURGATORY AND PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

LETTER LV.—To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, A. M.

REV. SIR,—IN the natural order of our controversies, this is the proper place to treat of purgatory and prayers for the dead. On this subject bishop Porteus begins with saying, "there is no scripture proof of the existence of purgatory heaven and hell we read of perpetually in the bible; but purgatory we never meet with; though surely, if there be such a place, Christ and his apostles would not have concealed it from us." (2) I might expose the inconclusiveness of this ar-

(1) Athen. Oxoniens.

(2) Confut. p. 48.

gument by the following parallel one; the scripture no where commands us to keep the *first day of the week* holy: we perpetually read of sanctifying the *sabbath*, or Saturday; but never meet with the Sunday, as a day of *obligation*; though, if there be such an obligation, Christ and his apostles would not have concealed it from us! I might likewise answer, with the bishop of Lincoln, that the inspired epistles (and I may add the gospels also) “are not to be considered as regular treatises upon the Christian religion.” (1) But I meet the objection in front, by saying, first, that the apostles did teach their converts the doctrine of purgatory, among their other doctrines, as St. Chrysostom testifies, and the tradition of the Church proves; secondly, that the same is demonstratively evinced from both the Old and the New Testament.

To begin with the Old Testament: I claim a right of considering the two first Books of Machabees as an integral part of them; because the Catholic Church so considers them, (2) from whose tradition, and not from that of the Jews, as St. Augustin signifies, (3) our sacred canon is to be formed. Now in the second of these books, it is related that the pious general, Judas Machabeus, sent 12,000 drachmas to Jerusalem, for sacrifices, to be offered for his soldiers, slain in battle; after which narration, the inspired writer concludes thus: *It is therefore a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.* 2 Mach. xii. 46. I need not point out the inseparable connexion there is between the practice of praying for the dead, and the belief of an intermediate state of souls; since it is evidently needless to pray for the saints in heaven, and useless to pray for the reprobate in hell. But, even Protestants, who do not receive the Books of Machabees as *canonical scripture*, venerate them as *authentic* and *holy records*: as such, then, they bear conclusive testimony of the belief of God’s people on this head 150 years before Christ. That the Jews were in the habit of practising some religious rites for the relief of the departed, at the beginning of Christianity, is clear from St. Paul’s first epistle to the Corinthians, where he mentions them without any censure of them; (4) and that this people continue to pray for their deceased brethren, at the present time, may be learned from any living Jew.

We now come to the New Testament: What place, I ask,

(1) Elem. of Theol. vol. i. p. 277. (2) Concil. Cartag. iii. St. Cyp. St. Aug. Innoc. I. Gelas. &c. (3) Lib. 18. De Civ. Dei (4) *Else what shall they do who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they baptized for them?* 1 Cor. xv. 29.

most that be, which our Saviour calls *Abraham's bosom*, where the soul of Lazarus reposed, *Luke*, xvi. 22, among the other just souls, till he, by his sacred passion, paid their ransom? Not heaven, otherwise Dives would have addressed himself to God instead of Abraham; but evidently a middle state, as St. Augustin teaches. (1) Again, of what place is it St. Peter speaks, where he says: *Christ died for our sins; being put to death in the flesh, but enlivened in the spirit; in which also coming, he preached to those spirits which were in prison*. 1 Pet. iii. 19. It is evidently the same which is mentioned in the Apostles' creed: *He descended into hell*: not the hell of the damned, to suffer their torments, as the blasphemous Calvin asserts, (2) but the *prison* above-mentioned, or *Abraham's bosom*; in short, a middle state. It is of this prison, according to the holy fathers, (3) our blessed Master speaks, where he says: *I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the last mite*. *Luke*, xii. 59.—Lastly, what other sense can that passage of St. Paul to the Corinthians bear, than that which the holy fathers affix to it, (4) where the apostle says: *The day of the Lord shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work be burnt, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire*. 1 Cor. iii. 13, 15. The prelate's diversified attempts to explain away these scriptural proofs of purgatory, are really too feeble and inconsistent to merit being even mentioned. I might here add, as a further proof, the denunciation of Christ, concerning *blasphemy against the Holy Ghost*: namely, that this sin *shall not be forgiven, either in this world or in the world to come*, *Matt.* xii. 32: which words clearly imply, that *some sins* are forgiven in the world to come, as the ancient fathers shew: (5) but I hasten to the proofs of this doctrine from tradition, on which head the prelate is so ill advised as to challenge Catholics.

II. Bishop Porteus, then, advances, that "purgatory, in the present Popish sense, was not heard of for 400 years after Christ; nor universally received for 1000 years, nor almost

(1) *De Civit. Dei* l. xv. c. 20. (2) *Instit.* l. ii. c. 16. (3) Tertul. St. Cyp. Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, &c. (4) Origen, *Hom.* 14 in *Levit.* &c. St. Ambrose in *Ps.* 118. St. Jerom, l. 2. contra Jovin. St. Aug. in *Ps.* 37, where he prays thus: "Purify me, O Lord, in this life, that I may not need the chastising fire of those who will be saved, yet so as by fire." (5) St. Aug. *De Civit. Dei*, l. xxi. c. 24 St. Greg. l. iv. *Dialog.* Bed. in cap. 3, *Marc.*

in any other church than that of Rome to this day." (1) Here are no less than three egregious falsities, which I proceed to shew, after stating what his lordship seems not to know, namely, that all which is necessary to be believed on this subject, is contained in the following brief declaration of the council of Trent: "There is a purgatory, and the souls detained there are helped by the prayers of the faithful, and particularly by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar." (2) St. Chrysostom, the light of the Eastern church, flourished within 300 years of the age of the apostles, and must be admitted as an unexceptionable witness of their doctrine and practice. Now he writes as follows: "It was not without good reason **ORDAINED BY THE APOSTLES**, that mention should be made of the dead in the tremendous mysteries, because they knew well that these would receive great benefit from it." (3) Tertullian, who lived in the age next to that of the apostles, speaking of a pious widow, says: "She prays for the soul of her husband, and begs refreshment (4) for him." Similar testimonies of St. Cyprian, in the following age, are numerous. I shall satisfy myself with quoting one of them; where describing the difference between some souls, which are immediately admitted into heaven, and others which are detained in purgatory, he says: "It is one thing to be waiting for pardon; another to attain to glory: One thing to be sent to prison, not to go from thence till the last farthing is paid; another to receive immediately the reward of faith and virtue. One thing to suffer lengthened torments for sin, and to be chastised and purified for a long time in that fire; another to have cleansed away all sin by suffering," (5) namely, by martyrdom. It would take up too much time to quote authorities on this subject from St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius, St. Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, St. Augustin, and several other ancient fathers and writers, who demonstrate, that the doctrine of the Church was the same that it is now, not only within a thousand, but also within 400 years of the time of Christ, with respect both to prayers for the dead, and an intermediate state, which we call purgatory. How express is the authority of the last named father, in particular, where he says and repeats: "Through the prayers and sacrifices of the Church and alms-deeds, God deals more mercifully with the departed than their sins deserve!" (6) How affecting is this saint's account of the death of his mother, St. Monica,

(1) P. 50. (2) Sess. xxi. De Purg. (3) In cap. i. Philip. Hom. 3.
 (4) L. De Monogam. c. 10. (5) St. Cypr. l. iv. ep. 2. (6) Serm. 172.
 Enchirid. cap. 109, 110.

when she entreated him to remember her soul at the altar and when, after her decease, he performed this duty, in order, as he declares, "to obtain the pardon of her sins!" (1) As to the doctrine of the Oriental churches, which the bishop signifies is conformable to that of his own, I affirm, as a fact which has been demonstrated, (2) that there is not one of them which agrees with it, nor one of them which does not agree with the Catholic Church, in the only two points defined by her, namely, as to there being a middle state, which we call purgatory, and as to the souls detained in it being helped by the prayers of the living faithful. True it is, they do not generally believe that these souls are punished by a *material fire*; but neither does our Church require a belief of this opinion; and, accordingly, she made a union with the Greeks in the council of Florence, on their barely confessing and subscribing the aforesaid two articles.

III. I should do an injury, reverend sir, to my cause, were I to pass over the concessions of eminent Protestant prelates, and other writers, on the matter in debate. On some occasions Luther admits of purgatory as an article founded on scripture. (3) Melancthon confesses that the ancients prayed for the dead, and says that the Lutherans do not find fault with it. (4) Calvin intimates that the souls of all the just are detained in Abraham's bosom till the day of judgment. (5) In the first liturgy of the church of England, which was drawn up by Cranmer and Ridley, and declared by act of Parliament to have been *framed by inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, there is an express prayer for the departed, that "God would grant them mercy and everlasting peace." (6) It can be shewn that the following bishops of your church believed that the dead ought to be prayed for, Andrews, Usher, Montague, Taylor, Forbes, Sheldon, Barrow of St. Asaph's, and Blandford. (7) To these I may add the religious Dr. Johnson, whose published Meditations prove that he constantly prayed for his deceased wife. But what need is there of more words on the subject, when it is clear that modern Protestants, in shutting up the Catholic purgatory for imperfect just souls, have opened another general one for them, and all

(1) Confess. l. ix. c. 13. (2) See the Confessions of the different Oriental Churches in the Perpetuite, &c. (3) Assertiones, Art. 27. Disput. Leipsic. (4) Apolog. Conf. Aug. (5) Instit. l. iii, c. 5. (6) See the form in Collier's Ecc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 257. (7) Collier's Hist.—N. B. The bishop of Exeter, in a sermon just published, prays for the soul of our princess Charlotte, "as far as this is lawful and profitable."

the wicked of every sort whatsoever ! It is well known that the disciples of Calvin, at Geneva, and perhaps every where else, instead of adhering to his doctrine, in condemning mortals to eternal torments, without any fault on their part, now hold that the most confirmed in guilt, and the finally impenitent shall, in the end, be saved : (1) thus establishing, as Fletcher of Madeley observes, " a general purgatory." (3) A late celebrated theological, as well as philosophical writer of our own country, Dr. Priestley, being on his death-bed, called for Simpson's work *On the Duration of Future Punishment*, which he recommended in these words : " It contains my sentiments ; we shall all meet finally ; we only require different degrees of discipline, suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for final happiness." (3) Here again is a general Protestant purgatory : and why should Satan and his crew be denied the benefit of it ? But to confine myself to eminent divines of the established church : one of its celebrated preachers, who, of course, " never mentions hell to ears polite," expresses his wish, " to banish the subject of everlasting punishment from all pulpits, as containing a doctrine at once improper and uncertain ;" (4) which sentiment is applauded by another eminent divine, who reviews that sermon in the *British Critic*." (5) Another modern divine censures " the threat of eternal perdition as a cause of infidelity." (6) The renowned Dr. Paley—but here we are getting into quite novel systems of theology, which will force a smile from its old students, notwithstanding the awfulness of the subject—Dr. Paley, I say, so far softens the punishment of the infernal regions, as to suppose that " there may be very little to choose between the condition of some who are in hell, and others who are in heaven !" (7) In the same liberal spirit, the Cambridge professor of divinity teaches, that " God's wrath and damnation are more terrible in the sound than the sense ! (8) and that *being damned* does not imply any fixed degree of evil !" (9) In another part of his lectures he expresses his hope, and quotes Hartley, as expressing the same, that " all men will be ultimately happy, when punishment has done its work in reforming principles and conduct." (10)

(1) Encyclo. Art. Geneva. (2) Checks to Antinom. vol. 4. (3) See Edinb. Review, Oct. 1796. (4) Sermons by the Rev. W. Gilpin, Preb. of Sarum. (5) British Critic, Jan. 1802. (6) Rev. Mr. Folwhele's Letter to Dr. Hawker. (7) Moral and Polit. Philos. (8) Lect. vol. iii. p. 154. (9) Ibid. (10) Vol. ii. p. 390. It is to be observed, that the doctrine of the final salvation of the wicked is expressly condemned in the 42d article of the church of England, A. D. 1552.

If this sentiment be not sufficiently explicit in favour of purgatory, take the following from a passage in which he is directly lecturing on the subject. "With regard to the doctrine of purgatory, though it may not be founded either in reason or in scripture, it is not unnatural. Who can bear the thought of dwelling in everlasting torments? Yet who can say that a God everlastingly just will not inflict them? The mind of man seeks for some resource: it finds one only: in conceiving that some temporary punishment, after death, may purify the soul from its moral pollutions, and make it at last acceptable even to a Deity infinitely pure." (1)

IV. Bishop Porteus intimates, that the doctrine of a middle state of souls was borrowed from Pagan fable and philosophy. In answer to this, I say, that if Plato, (2) Virgil, and other heathens, ancient and modern, as likewise Mahomet and his disciples, together with the Protestant writers quoted above have embraced this doctrine, it only shews how conformable it is to the dictates of natural religion. I have proved, by various arguments, that a temporary punishment generally remains due to sin, after the guilt and eternal punishment due to it have been remitted. Again, we know from scripture, that even *the just fall seven times*, Prov. xxiv. 17, and that men *must give an account of every idle word that they speak*, Matt. xii. 36. On the other hand, we are conscious that there is not an instant of our life, in which this may not suddenly terminate, without the possibility of our calling upon God for mercy. What then, I ask, will become of souls which are surprised in either of these two predicaments? We are sure, from scripture and reason, that nothing defiled shall enter heaven, Rev. xxi. 27: will then our just and merciful Judge make no distinction in guiltiness, as bishop Fowler and other rigid Protestants maintain? (3) Will he condemn to the same eternal punishment, the poor child who has died in the guilt of a lie or excuse, and the abandoned wretch who has died in the act of murdering his father! To say that he will, is so monstrous a doctrine in itself, and so contrary to scripture, which declares that God *will render to every man according to his deeds*, Rom. ii. 6, that it seems to be universally exploded. (4) The evident consequence of this is, that there are some *venial* or pardonable sins, for the expiation of which, as well as for the temporary punishment due to

(1) Vol. iv. p. 112. (2) Plato in *Georgia*, Virgil's *Æneid*, l. 6, the *Koran*. (3) Calvin, l. iii. c. 12. Fowler in *Watson's Tracts*, vci. vi. p. 362. (4) See Dr. Hey, vol. iii. pp. 384, 451, 453.

other sins, a place of temporary punishment is provided in the next life, where, however, the souls detained may be relieved by the prayers, alms, and sacrifices of the faithful here on earth. O! how consoling are the belief and practice of Catholics, in this matter, compared with those of Protestants! The latter shew their regard for their departed friends in costly pomp and feathered pageantry, while their burial service is a cold, disconsolate ceremony: and as to any further communication with the deceased, when the grave closes on their remains, they do not so much as imagine any. On the other hand, we Catholics know that death itself cannot dissolve the *communion of saints* which subsists in our Church, nor prevent an intercourse of kind and often beneficial offices, between us and our departed friends. Oftentimes we can help them more effectually, in the other world, by our prayers, our sacrifices, and our alms-deeds, than we could in this by any temporary benefits we could bestow upon them. Hence we are instructed to celebrate the obsequies of the dead by all such good works; and, accordingly, our funeral service consists of psalms and prayers, offered up for their repose and eternal felicity. These acts of devotion pious Catholics perform for the deceased who were near and dear to them, and indeed for the dead in general, every day, but particularly on the respective anniversaries of the deceased. Such benefits, we are assured, will be paid with rich interest by the souls, when they attain to that bliss, to which we shall have contributed: and if they should not be in a condition to help us, the God of mercy at least will abundantly reward our charity. On the other hand, what a comfort and support must it be to our minds, when our turn comes to descend to the grave, to reflect that we shall continue to live in the constant thoughts and daily devotions of our Catholic relatives and friends.

I am, yours, &c. JOHN MILNER.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER LVI.—To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.

REV. SIR,—You will not fail to observe, that the whole which I write to you on particular subjects of controversy is as logicians term it *ex abundanti*, being no way necessary to ascertain the truth of revelation on these several subjects, but

merely added for your further information and satisfaction concerning them, and to shew that we can meet Protestants on the ground they claim of scripture, reason, and the fathers. Yes, sir, all my present labour is superabundant, because, in proving that Christ has left a *living speaking authority in his holy Church* to expound to us his two-fold rule of scripture and tradition, as I have proved in the first part of this work, which the vicar nibbles at without being able to injure it, I demonstrated at once, and rendered all discussion of the different branches of it unnecessary. Again, it is proper to observe that this holy Church, in declaring her doctrine, does not profess to argue upon it in a controversial way, either from scripture or tradition; much less does she pretend to make new articles of faith, or to expound the original articles in a different sense from that in which she has always held them, though it is true she sometimes adopts new terms, such as **CONSUBSTANTIAL** and **TRANSUBSTANTIATION**, as more energetical and expressive of her belief, in opposition to the rising heresies of the times. In short, her constant language is, **NIL INNOVETUR; NIL NISI QUOD TRADITUM EST.** (1) *Such and such is the sense of scripture: such and such is the doctrine of her predecessors, the pastors of the Church, since the time of the apostles: though we or an angel from heaven preach to you another gospel—let him be anathema.* Gal. i. 8. This observation deserves the notice of the reverend vicar in particular, who at every turn exclaims: *the council of Trent or such other council asserts this and that doctrine, but does not prove it from scripture, &c.*

The vicar enters upon the subject of purgatory with complaining of the "*inveteracy*" of the Catholic Church, by which I understand her *constancy* in maintaining it: and thus much I grant to the reverend gentleman, that she never changed her doctrine or her practice in this point, as Cranmer and his followers altered theirs. He then accuses Bellarmin and Bossuet with *arrogance* and *self-sufficiency* in supporting the same doctrine. All this, however, is barely an introduction to the vicar's abuse of myself, for having dared to detect the sophistry and false statements of Dr. Porteus. This prelate asserts that Catholics have "no scripture proof of the existence of purgatory;" and that "if there be such a place, Christ and his apostles would not have concealed it from us." The inconclusiveness of this argument, considered in itself, I

(1) Pope Stephen 1. Ep. 74.

shewed in the first place by the following parity: "The scripture no where commands us to keep the *first day* of the week holy: we always read of sanctifying the Sabbath or *Saturday*, but never read of *Sunday*, as a day of obligation though if there be such an obligation, Christ and his apostle would not have concealed it from us." In the next place I proved the absolute falsehood of the argument by shewing that the existence of purgatory and the advantage of praying for the souls detained in it are proved from scripture. On the former point, the vicar argues at great length to shew that there was sufficient reason for the apostles transferring the obligation of the last day of the week to the first day of it (in doing which he contradicts his former doctrine); but the present question is not about the motives there were for the apostles making the change, but for the lawfulness of our laying aside an obligation imposed upon mankind at the creation, and confirmed when the law was given, and our taking up with a different obligation without any *positive injunction of holy scripture*.

In proof however that the scriptures do sanction the belief of *a middle state of souls suffering for a time on account of their sins*, which is the definition of purgatory, I argued in the first place from the fact of the religious priest and captain, Judas Machabeus, having sent ten thousand drachmas to the temple of Jerusalem, in order that sacrifices might be offered up for the souls of some of his soldiers who had fallen in battle; because as the texts add, *it is a holy and a salutary thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins*. 2 Mac. xii. 46. At the same time I proved that the book of Machabees, here cited, is an integral part of scripture, and that if it were not so, it would prove the faith of God's people in this article under the ancient covenant. The vicar next tries to make his readers believe that the sacrifices which Judas offered for the dead, were intended for the safety of the living, notwithstanding the sacred penman's express declaration that *it is salutary to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins*. But, continues the vicar, these soldiers "died in mortal sin;" hence he concludes that prayers and sacrifices could not avail them. I answer that the pious priest, Machabeus, was a better judge in this matter than the vicar of Templebodane, and that it is plain from the text that the Pagan donaries taken by the Jewish soldiers at Jamnia were taken as *spoils*, not as subjects of *idolatry*. To my proofs from Luke, xii. 59, and xvi. 22, as likewise from 1 Peter, iii. 19, though supported by St. Augustin,

Tertullian, St. Cyprian, Origen, St. Jerom, to whom I might add St. Athanasius, St. Cyril. and a host of other fathers, the vicar makes no other answer than by calling them "trite, foolish, and unscriptural;" saying that he "will not trespass on the reader's patience, or follow Dr. M. in his stupid track." The two other texts I quoted from the New Testament, namely, 1 Cor. iii. 13, &c. and Matt. xii. 32, though equally applied, as I stated, to the dogma of purgatory by Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, St. Augustin, St. Gregory, &c. the vicar *disposes of*, according to his usual phrase, by opposing to them the opinion of Secker, Wake, and some other nameless commentators! Methinks the above-cited words of St. Peter, at least, declaring that *Christ being put to death, preached to the spirits that were in prison*, agreeably with the article of the creed, *he descended into hell*, and which have embarrassed the most eminent Protestant divines, deserved a more respectful treatment at the vicar's hands than to be passed over as *foolish and stupid*. Archbishop Wake, whom he often cites, says, that "the spirit of Christ, after his death, together with the soul of the penitent thief, was carried by the angels into paradise, where the souls of the righteous rest till the day of resurrection." (1) And Bishop Tomlin admits "that the hell into which Christ descended means the place appropriated for the reception of departed souls in the intermediate time between death and the general resurrection." (2) Both these divines, together with Pearson, Burnet, and numerous others, admit of an intermediate or third place for departed spirits distinct from heaven and hell: now this place is what Catholics call *purgatory*: for as to the nature of it, and whether there are external torments in it, whatever reason there is for believing this to be the case, the Church has defined nothing, and accordingly she entered into a concordat with the Greeks at the council of Florence, though they denied such exterior torments, on their barely acknowledging that *there is a purgatory, and that souls therein detained are helped by the prayers of the faithful here on earth*. But, instead of agreeing with the eminent prelates of his own church, the vicar subscribes to the impieties of Calvin, concerning the death of Christ and his descent into hell, agreeing with him that this is "true, holy, and comfortable doctrine."

I pass over the vicar's inconclusive reasoning on the present subject, grounded as it is on two notoriously false sup-

(1) Principles of Christ. Relig. Sect. xi.

(2) Expos. of the Thirty-nine Articles, Part iii. Art. 3.

positions, namely, that *all sins are equal*, and that there is no mercy in *commuting a heavy punishment for a light one*. He finishes his unsuccessful attempt at reasoning with the following absurd *petitio principii*: "So truly nonsensical is the idea respecting purgatory, that it must long since have been abandoned, did not interested motives stand in the way." Now this is so far from being true, that the contrary is directly the case. I will shew it with respect to our own country. When the lord protector, Seymour, with the help of Cranmer and Ridley, first exchanged the Catholic for the Protestant religion, they found nothing *nonsensical* in the idea of a middle state of souls, or in prayers for the souls detained in it. Accordingly, they left the Catholic prayers of this nature to remain in the new Protestant liturgy; and archbishop Cranmer, who was now the Protestant pope of England, by his own choice sung a solemn mass of *requiem* for the soul of the deceased French king, June 19th, 1547, at which bishop Ridley preached, and eight other prelates assisted. (1) But the protector Seymour having contrived to advance himself to the rank of a duke, under pretext that it was the intention of the deceased king Henry to promote him, (2) and having no other resource for raising money to support this dignity but the endowments of the colleges, hospitals, and chantries, or foundations for mortuary masses, &c. of which latter there were no less than 2374 in different parts of England, he procured an act of parliament for the seizure of these, nominally for the king's service, but really for his own and his fellow-counsellors' emolument. It was then that Somerset-house was raised in all its ancient magnificence, and that the family of Seymour, which was scantily provided for, rose to princely opulence. In like manner, it was then that Cranmer and Ridley, who before, by word and practice, had promoted prayers for the souls in purgatory, discovered that "these are a fond thing vainly invented," &c. which position they inserted in the articles of the English church, (3) altering the Common-prayer conformably with it, all which was confirmed by parliament in 1552. Thus the suppression of the doctrine of purgatory and prayers for the dead, and not the invention and continuance of it, sprung from wicked avarice.

The vicar's respect for the authority of the ancient fathers, is just as flexible as was the religion of Cranmer. He set out with "a determination to deprive Dr. M. of their adventitious-

(1) Heylyn's Hist. of Ref. p. 40. (2) *Ibid.* P. xxxii. p. 33. (3) Article xxiii. in the Forty-two Articles, and xxii. in the Thirty-nine Articles.

aid," and thus far has kept up some sort of pretence of being supported by their authority; but on the present subject his confidence quite fails him. He now is reduced to confess that "though the authority of the fathers is *respectable*, it is *not decisive*, and that it is with this feeling he contends about its possession with Dr. Milner." In short, he admits that "Origen, Cyprian, and Tertullian speak of purgatory;" but, he adds, that "he first conceived there were no pains at all after this life but those of purgatory;" just as if this opinion, admitting it to be rightly stated, weakened the father's testimony for purgatory. (1) "The second, he says, applied this doctrine to the penance inflicted on the lapsed in the persecutions." Just as if this, I again say, diminished the authority of the quotation! (2) He adds, "the third applied it (the doctrine of purgatory) to Christ's millenary kingdom:" which is false and would signify nothing if it were true. (3) But why, in case the vicar meant to treat the question of literature *honourably*, and a question of religion *conscientiously*, why has he not taken notice of those clear and forcible passages I quoted from St. Augustin and St. John Chrysostom, and referred to in St. Ambrose and other fathers. (4) The answer is obvious.

It is not to be wondered at that our vicar should be found unable to cope with so many Catholic fathers, when it appears that he cannot even manage the eminent Protestant doctors whom I quoted as siding with the Catholics, some of them for the existence of a place of temporary punishment after death, that is to say *purgatory*, others for the practice of praying for the dead. On this head the vicar says: "of eight divines of the church of England, whom he (Dr. M.) expressly mentions as believing that the dead ought to be

(1) See Origen, Hom. 14, Levit. and Hom. 16, Jerem. (2) See the strong passage I quoted from St. Cyprian, p. 370. (3) Tertullian says nothing about the Millennium, in the passage I quoted from him, nor in the other passages of the same import. (4) St. Aug. Sermon. 172. Enchirid. cap. 109, cap. 110. Confess. l. ix. c. 13. St. Chrys. c. 1. Philip, Hom. 3, where the father expressly says, that *prayers for the dead in the tremendous mysteries were ordained above by the apostles*. See St. Cyril's Abstract of the Ancient Greek Mass. See the account of the funeral of the emperor Constantine by Eusebius, where he describes the surrounding people shedding tears, and *offering up prayers for his soul*. Life of Const. l. vi. c. 71. See also St. Ambrose's Sermon on the death of the emperor Theodosius, where he says: "I loved him, and therefore will follow him to the land of the living: nor will I quit him until my tears and supplications shall have obtained that he be admitted to the holy mountain of the Lord."

prayed for, I can only speak decidedly of one, archbishop Usher." And how does he prove his point, with respect to Usher? He says, 1st. that the latter in his account of St. Patrick's book *De tribus Habitaculis*, observes that there is no mention of any other place after death but heaven and hell." To this I answer that not only St. Patrick, (1) but likewise Usher himself, included in the word *hell*, not only the place of torment for the reprobate, but also the *limbus inferi*, in which the patriarchs dwelt of old, and the imperfect just are detained at present, the same into which Christ descended. (2) The vicar says, 2ndly. that the archbishop, in admitting that the Irish church in the fifth century, like the rest of the Church, was accustomed to pray for the dead, alleges that, "in those elder days it was an usual thing to make prayers and oblations for the rest of those souls which were not doubted to be in glory." Let St. Augustin explain this whole matter. He says: "When we offer the sacrifice of the altar, or give alms for the faithful departed, they are acts of thanksgiving for those who are perfectly good; they are propitiations for those who are not very bad; and, though they are of no benefit to the very bad, they are matter of consolation to the living." (3) He says, 3rdly, that Usher quotes St. Jerom to prove that "when we shall come before the judgment seat of Christ, neither Job nor Daniel can entreat for us;" and that "in hell no prayer can be heard." But how does this prove that a Job or a Daniel cannot help by their prayers a soul *before* it is presented to be judged, and in the intermediate state of purgatory? That St. Jerom believed in purgatory, and the benefit of prayers for the dead, is abundantly testified in various parts of his works. (4) Thus we find the vicar, with all his boasting of support from the fathers, giving up three of them by name on the subject in debate, and letting judgment go by default, as the lawyers

(1) In St. Patrick's second Council, cap. 12, published by Spelman, is found a decree forbidding that the holy liturgy should be performed for certain scandalous sinners after their death, in the same manner as St. Cyprian had done with respect to those who appointed clergymen for their executors. (2) Among the other warm controversies that were carried

on between archbishop Laud and archbishop Usher, through their respective chaplains, Dr. Peter Heylin and Dr. Richard Parr, one was concerning Christ's descent into hell. In managing this, the last-mentioned quotes his patron Usher, as referring in his defence to the ancient fathers respecting Abraham's bosom—the paradise of the good thief—the outskirts, that is, the limbo of hell. See Appendix to the Life of Usher, by Dr. Parr, p. 26. (3) Enchirid. c. 110. (4) Comment. in Prov. c. ii. Isaiam. Ps. xiii. Advers. Jovin. &c.

term it, with respect to the rest of them. In fact, he has not the shadow of a claim to support from any one of them; and of the eight eminent prelates of his own church, who have been named in the controversy, he only attempts to claim one, by doing which he betrays his cause instead of serving it. With respect to the distinguished writers of our own time, he attempts to vindicate the bishop of Exeter alone from what he calls "an imputation of rank Popery": but which, in fact, was a sentiment that did honour to his lordship's learning as a theologian, according to what has just been proved, and to his heart as a man. The fact is, as I stated, that this prelate, in a sermon on the death of the late lamented princess Charlotte, *prayed for her soul*. This fact the vicar denies, and says he has authority to deny it. Perhaps he may have authority; but thus far we have nothing but his bare word for it. In the mean time it is certain, that if I have been misled on this score, so has the nation at large, through all the usual vehicles of intelligence, and other the most respectable publications. (1)

You will recollect, rev. sir, that in concluding my letter on purgatory, and prayers for the dead, I spoke of the great consolation which Catholics derive from the practice of the latter, especially at the funerals of those who are near or dear to them, observing, that death itself cannot break that happy *communion of saints*, which exists among the members of their Church, insomuch that they can often render greater service to their friends after their death, in praying and giving alms for them, than they can in any other way during their life-time: while the funerals of our mistaken Protestant brethren, I said, "are cold, disconsolate ceremonies, in which the survivors cannot otherwise shew their regard for their departed friends than by costly pomp and feathered pageantry." These reflections have roused the feelings of the vicar, and provoked him to challenge a comparison between the burial-service of the church which he belongs to, and that of any other church, whether Latin or Greek. But, after all, rev. sir, you cannot help observing how the vicar's affected indignation is nothing else but a polemical artifice to misrepresent my reflections. In fact, I did not represent the passages from Job, the Psalms, and the New Testament, of which the

(1) See *Remarks on the Bishop of Peterborough's Comparative View*, by the Rev. G. Glover, A. M. who says, "We had even very lately a sermon preached and published on the death of the princess Charlotte, by a venerable bishop, now upon the bench, concluding with a prayer that God would receive her soul." P. 85.

established service chiefly consists, as *cold and disconsolate* in themselves; I could not signify this, without blaspheming the word of God, and disgracing my own breviary and missal, out of which almost all the funeral service of the church of England is taken; I barely spoke of the latter as it regards the benefit of departed souls, and of consequence the feelings of the living friends, to neither of which it professes to afford aid or consolation, while the whole intent and object of the Catholic funeral liturgy is to administer these to them both.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

EXTREME UNCTION.

LETTER LVII.—*To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M.A.*

REV. SIR,—THE council of Trent terms the sacrament of extreme unction the *consummation of penance*; and, therefore, as bishop Porteus makes this the subject of a charge against our Church, here is the proper place for me to answer it. His lordship writes *a long chapter* upon it, because his business is to gloss over the clear testimony which the apostle St. James bears to the reality of this sacrament: in return I shall write *a short letter* in refutation of his epistle, because I have little more to do, than to cite that testimony, as it stands in the New Testament. It is as follows: *Is any man sick among you, let him bring in the priests of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man; and the Lord shall raise him up: and if he be in sins they shall be forgiven him*, James, v. 14, 16. Here we see all that is requisite, according to the English Protestant catechism, to constitute a sacrament: (1) for there “is an outward visible sign,” namely, the *anointing with oil*; there “is an outward spiritual grace given unto us,” namely, *the saving of the sick and the forgiveness of his sins*. Last there is “the ordination of Christ, as the *means* by which the same *is received*,” unless the bishop chooses to allege, that the holy apostle fabricated a sacrament, or means of grace, without any authority for this purpose from his heavenly Master. What then does his lordship say, in opposition to

this divine warrant for our sacrament? He says, that the anointing the sick by the elders or old men, was the appointed method of *miraculously curing them* in primitive times; which would imply that no Christian died in those times, except when either oil or old men were not to be met with! He adds, that *forgiveness of the sick man's sins*, means *the cure of his corporal diseases!* (1) And after all this, he boasts of building his religion on mere scripture, in its plain unglossed meaning! (2) In reading this, I own I cannot help revolving in my mind the above quoted parody of Luther, on the first words of scripture, in which he ridicules the distortion of it by many Protestants of his time. (3) With the same confidence his lordship adds. "Our laying aside a ceremony (the anointing which *has long been useless*, &c. can be no loss, while every thing that is truly valuable in St. James's direction is preserved in our office for visiting the sick." (4) Exactly in this manner our friends, the Quakers, undertake to prove, that, in laying aside the ceremony of washing catechumens with water, they "have preserved every thing that is truly valuable" in the sacrament of baptism! (5) But where shall we find an end of the inconsistencies and impieties of deluded Christians, who refuse to hear that Church which Christ has appointed to explain to them the truths of religion!

There is not more truth in the prelate's assertion, that there is no mention of anointing with oil, among the primitive Christians, except in miraculous cures, during the first 600 years; for the celebrated Origen, who was born in the age next to that of the apostles, after speaking of an humble confession of sins, as a means of obtaining their pardon, adds to it, the *anointing with oil, prescribed by St. James.* (6) St. Chrysostom, who lived in the 4th century, speaking of the power of priests in remitting sin, says, they exert it when they are called in to perform the rite mentioned by St. James, &c. (7) The testimony of pope Innocent I, in the same age, is so express as to warrant for this sacrament, the matter, the minister, and the subjects of it, (8) that though the bishop alluded to the testimony, he does not choose to grapple with it, or even to quote it. (9) I pass over the irre-

(1) Conf. p. 59. (2) P. 69. (3) "In principio Deus creavit cælum et terram: *In the beginning the cuckoo devoured the sparrow and hers.*" (4) Conf. p. 61. (5) Barclay's Apology, prop. 12. m Levit. (6) De Sacred l. iii. (7) Epist. ad Dec (9.) Conf. p. 61.

fragable authorities of St. Cyril of Alexandria, Victor of Antioch, St. Gregory the great, and our venerable Bede, in order once more to recur to that short but convincing proof, which I have already adduced on other contested points, that the Catholic Church has not invented those sacraments and doctrines in latter ages, which Protestants assert were unknown in the primitive time. Let it then be remembered, that the Nestorians broke off from the communion of the Church in 331, and the Eutychians in 451; that these *ritual* sects exist in numerous congregations throughout the East at the present day: and that they, as well as the Greek, Armenians, &c. maintain in belief and practice *extreme unction* as *one of the seven sacraments*. Nothing can so satisfactorily vindicate our Church from the charge of imposition or innovation, in the particulars mentioned, as these facts do. How much more consistently has the impious friar Martin Luther acted, in denying at once the authority of St. James's epistle, and condemning it as "a chaffy composition, and unworthy an apostle, (1) than bishop Porteus and his confederates do, who attempt to explain away the clear proofs of extreme unction, contained in that epistle? In the mean time, in spite of every insult offered to the divine institutions, and every uncharitable reflection cast on themselves or their religious practices, pious Catholics will continue to receive, in the time of man's greatest need, that inestimable consolation and grace, which this, and the other helps of their Church, were provided by our Saviour Jesus Christ to impart.

I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER LVIII. To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.

REV. SIR,—THE laboured attempt of bishop Porteus to distort the clear text of St. James is so unnatural, that the vicar himself seems to leave it to the exposure and refutation it meets with in my former letter. What the apostle says is this: *Is any man sick among you, let him bring in the priests of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of*

(1) "Strammosa." Prefat. in Jac. Jeun de Captiv. Babyt.

faith shall save the sick man, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him. James, v. 14, 15. The following is the gloss of bishop Porteus on this ordinance of the apostle: he says, that the anointing of the sick with oil by old men or elders, was the appointed method in primitive times of miraculously curing them; whence it follows, as I observed, that no Christian died in primitive times, except where old men or oil could not be procured. He adds that "*the forgiveness of the sick man's sins, which St. James speaks of, means the cure of his corporal diseases.*" (1) The vicar says little in support of the bishop; what he chiefly aims at is to elude the strong proofs I brought that this apostolical ordinance is a *sacrament of the Church*, instituted first and principally for the relief of the soul, and secondly, for the relief of the body, if it be for the glory of God and the real good of the patient, and that the ministers of it are not *old men* of any description, but, as they are here termed, *the priests of the Church*. We are agreed as to what constitutes a sacrament; our definition of one and that in the church catechism, not being materially different from each other. In short, it is agreed upon that there is an *exterior rite* prescribed by the apostles, namely, the anointing the sick person with oil; on the other hand, there is undeniably a *spiritual grace*, namely, *the saving of him by the prayer of faith*, together with *the forgiveness of his sins*, which latter clause the vicar chooses to suppress in quoting the words of St. James. In excuse for this omission, or rather in opposition to the apostle, he says afterwards, that "the forgiveness of sins can be as well had by the absolution of the priest." But this, as I have intimated, is denying the apostle's declaration; and, secondly, it is unsaying all that the vicar himself has been saying in his ninth chapter about *absolution from sin*. I wonder that, in his distress, he did not avail himself of the authority of his incomparable Selden, who says "that the unction here prescribed *for the sick* was *intended for the dead*:" (2) or rather that of patriarch Luther, who calls this epistle of St. James, "*a dry, chaffy epistle unworthy of an apostle.*" (3) In speaking of the three things necessary to constitute a sacrament, the present writer said, respecting the ordinance in question, "here we see all that

(1) Confutation, chap. ix. p. 58.

(2) Selden de Syned. l. 2.

(3) De Captiv. Bablyl. Edit. Jen. The motive of Luther's contempt of this canonical epistle, is because it denies the sufficiency of faith alone, and insists on the necessity of good works.

is requisite, according the English Protestant catechism, to constitute a sacrament: for there is an *outward visible sign*, namely, the anointing with oil; there is an *inward spiritual grace*, namely, the saving of the sick and the forgiveness of his sins; lastly, there is *the ordination of Christ*, as the means by which the same is received, unless the bishop (Porteus) chooses to allege, that the holy apostle fabricated a sacrament, or means of grace, without any authority from his heavenly Master." These latter words, which so clearly imply that not even the apostle could institute a sacrament, it pleases the vicar to transform into the very opposite meaning, by making me signify, that "as St. James was ordained to the apostolic office, he consequently had the power to institute a sacrament."

You have seen, rev. sir, in the last letter, the sacrament of extreme unction proved, not only from the epistle of St. James, but also from the express testimony of Origen, St. Chrysostom and pope Innocent I. all of whom quote that epistle as scriptural authority for it. You have also seen references to the testimonies of Cyril of Alexandria, St. Gregory the great, and our venerable Bede, to the utter discomfiture of Dr. Porteus, who denies its being "mentioned for the first six hundred years of the Church." (1) And yet the vicar, pledged as he stands to "deprive me of the adventitious aid of the fathers," says not a word to all this? I likewise referred to all and every one of the numerous Christian churches in Europe, Asia, and Africa, that had been separated, some for five, others for ten centuries from the Catholic Church, before the existence of Protestantism, all of which are in the habit of administering it to the sick, no less than the Catholic Church. It was certainly incumbent on the vicar to account for this universal fascination of the Christian world: there is no other way of doing this but the supposition which I suggested before, and with which he is so much offended, namely, that on some night or day they forgot all they had previously believed, and were bewitched into a new religion.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER

(1) Confut. c. 12. p. 51.

WHETHER THE POPE BE ANTICHRIST ?

LETTER LX.—To JAMES BROWN, Esq.

REV. SIR,—THERE remains but one more question of doctrine to be discussed between me and your favourite controvertist, bishop Porteus, which is concerning the character and power of the pope ; and this he compresses into a narrow compass, among a variety of miscellaneous matters, in the latter part of his book. However, as it is a doctrine of first rate importance, against which I make no doubt but several of your Salopian society have been early and bitterly prejudiced, I propose to treat it at some length, and in a regular way. To do this, I must begin with the inquiry, whether the pope be really and truly *the man of sin*, and the *son of perdition*, described by St. Paul, 2 Thes. ii. 1, 10 ; in short *the antichrist* spoken of by St. John, (1 John, ii. 18.) and called by him, *a beast with seven heads and ten horns*, Revel. xiii. 1, whose see, our Church, is *the great harlot, the mother of the fornications and abominations of the earth*, ibid. xvii. 5. I shudder to repeat these blasphemies, and I blush to hear them uttered by my fellow christians and countrymen, who derive their liturgy, their ministry, their christianity and civilization, from the pope and the church of Rome ; but they have been too generally taught by the learned, and believed by the ignorant, for me to pass them by in silence on this occasion. One of bishop Porteus's colleagues, bishop Hallifax, speaks of this doctrine concerning the pope and Rome, as long being "the common symbol of Protestantism." (1) Certain it is, that the author of it, the outrageous Martin Luther, may be said to have established Protestantism upon this principle. He had at first submitted his religious controversies to the decision of the pope, protesting to him thus : "Whether you give life or death, approve or reprove, as you may judge best, I will hearken to your voice, as to that of Christ himself." (2) but no sooner did pope Leo condemn his doctrine, than he published his book "Against the execrable Bull of Antichrist," (3) as he qualified it. In like manner, Melancthon, Bullinger, and many others of Luther's followers, publicly maintained, that the pope is antichrist, as did afterwards

(1) Sermons by bishop Hallifax, preached at the Lecture founded by the late bishop Warburton, to prove the Apostasy of Papal Rome, p. 21.

(2) Epist. ad Leo. X. A. D. 1518. (3) Tom. ii.

Calvin, Beza, and the writers of that party in general. This party considered this doctrine so essential as to vote it *an article of faith* in their synod of Gap, held in 1603. (1) The writers in defence of this impious tenet in our island are as abundant as those of the whole continent put together, John Fox, Whitaker, Fulke, Willet, Sir Isaac Newton, Mede, Lowman, Towson, Bicheno, Kett, &c. with the bishops, Fowler, Warburton, Newton, Hallifax, Hurd, Watson, and others, too numerous to be here mentioned. One of these writers, whose work has but just appeared, has collected from the scriptures a new and quite a whimsical system concerning antichrist. Hitherto, Protestant expositors have been content to apply the character and attributes of antichrist to a *succession* of Roman pontiffs: but the Rev. H. Kett professes to have discovered that the said antichrist is, at the same time, every pope who has filled the see of Rome since the year 756, to the number of 160, together with the whole of what he calls "the Mahometan power," from a period more remote by a century and a half, and the whole of infidelity, which he traces to a still more ancient origin than even Mahometanism. (2)

That the first pope, St. Peter, on whom Christ declared that he built his Church, *Matt.* xvi. 18, was not antichrist, I trust, I need not prove; nor indeed, his third successor in the popedom, St. Clement; since St. Paul testifies of him, that *his name is written in the book of life*, *Phil.* iv. 3. In like manner, there is no need of my demonstrating that the see of Rome was not the harlot of revelations, when St. Paul certified of its members, that their *faith was spoken of throughout the whole world*, *Rom.* i. 8. At what particular period, then, I now ask, as I asked Mr. Brown, in one of my former letters, did the grand apostasy take place, by which the head pastor of the Church of Christ became his declared enemy, in short, the antichrist; and by which the Church, whose faith had been divinely authenticated, became *the great harlot, full of the names of blasphemy*? This revolution, had it really taken place, would have been the greatest, and the most remarkable, that ever happened since the deluge. Hence we might expect that the witnesses, who profess to bear testimony to its reality, would agree as to the time of

(1) Bossuet's *Variat.* p. ii. b. 13. (2) History the Interpreter or Prophecy, by H. Kett, B. D. This writer's attempt to transform the great supporters of the pope, St. Jerom. pope Gregory I, St. Bernard, &c. into witnesses that the pope is antichrist, because they condemn certain acts as antichristian, is truly ridiculous.

its taking place. Let us now observe how far this is the fact. The Lutheran Braunbom, who writes the most copiously and the most confidently of this event, tells us, that the Popish antichrist was born in the year of Christ 88, that he grew to his full size in 376, that he was at his greatest strength in 636, that he began to decline in 1086, that he would die in 1640, and the world would end in 1711. (1) Sebastian Francus affirms, that antichrist appeared immediately after the apostles, and caused the external church, with its faith and sacraments, to disappear. (2) The Protestant church of Transylvania published, that antichrist first appeared A. D. 200. (3) Napper declared that his coming was about 313, and that pope Sylvester was the man. (4) Melancthon says, that pope Zozimus, in 420, was the first antichrist; (5) while Beza transfers this character to the great and good St. Leo, A. D. 440. (6) Fleming fixes on the year 606 as the year of this great event; bishop Newton on the year 727; "but all agree," says the Rev. Henry Kett, "that the antichristian power was fully established in 757, or 758." (7) Notwithstanding this confident assertion, Cranmer's brother-in-law, Bullinger, had, long before, assigned the year 763 as the æra of this grand revolution, (8) and Junius had put it off to 1073. Musculus could not discover antichrist in the church till about 1200, Fox not till 1300, (9) and Martin Luther, as we have seen, not till his doctrine was condemned by pope Leo in 1520. Such are the inconsistencies and contradictions of those learned Protestants, who profess to see so clearly the verification of the prophecies concerning antichrist in the Roman pontiffs. I say *contradictions*, because those among them, who pronounce pope Gregory, or Leo the great, or pope Sylvester, to have been antichrist, must contradict those others, who admit them to have been respectively Christian pastors and saints. Now what credit do men of sense give to an account of any sort, the vouchers for which contradict each other? Certainly none at all.

Nor are the predictions of these egregious interpreters, concerning the death of antichrist, and the destruction of Popery, more consistent with one another, than their accounts of the birth and progress of them both. We have seen above, that Braunbom prognosticated, that the death of the papal anti-

(1) Bayle's Dic. Braunbom. (2) De Alvegand. Stat. Eccles. (3) De Abolend. Christ. per Antichris. (4) Upon the Revel. (5) In locis postremo edit. (6) In Confess. General. (7) Vol. ii. p. 59. (8) In Apoc. (9) In Eandem.

christ would take place in the year 1640. John Fox foretold it would happen in 1666. The incomparable Joseph Mede, as bishop Hallifax calls him, (1) by a particular calculation of his own invention, undertook to demonstrate that the papacy would be finally destroyed in 1653. (2) The Calvinist minister Jurieu, who had adopted this system, fearing the event would not verify it, found a pretext to lengthen the term, first to 1690, and afterwards to 1710. But he lived to witness a disappointment at each of these periods. (3) Alix, another Huguenot preacher, predicted that the fatal catastrophe would certainly take place in 1716. (4) Whiston, who pretended to find out the longitude, pretended also to discover that the popedom would terminate in 1714: finding himself mistaken, he guessed a second time, and fixed upon the year 1735. (5) At length Mr. Kett, from the success of his *Antichrist of Infidelity* against his *Antichrist of Popery*, about twenty years ago, (for he feels no difficulty in *dividing satan against himself*, Matt. xii. 6,) foretold that the long wished for event was at the eve of being accomplished; (6) and Mr. Daubeney having witnessed pope Pius VI. in chains, and Rome possessed by French atheists, with several other preachers, sounds the trumpet of victory, and exclaims, all is accomplished. (7) In like manner, G. S. Faber, in his two sermons before the university of Oxford, in 1799, boasts that "the immense gothic structure of Popery, built on superstition and buttressed with tortures, has crumbled to dust." Empty triumphs of the enemies of the Church! They ought to have learned, from her length of history, that she never proves the truth of Christ's promises so evidently, as when she seems sinking under the waves of persecution; and that the chair of Peter never shines so gloriously, as when it is filled by a dying martyr, like Pius VI, or a captive confessor, like Pius VII; however triumphant, for a time, their persecutors may appear!

But these dealers in prophecy undertake to demonstrate from the characters of antichrist, as pointed out by St. Paul and St. John, that this succession of popes is the very man in question. Accordingly, the bishop of Landaff says: "I have known the infidelity of more than one young man happily removed, by shewing him the characters of Popery delineated by St. Paul, in his prophecy concerning *the man of sin*, 2 Thess. ii. and in that concerning the apostasy of the

(1) P. 286. (2) Bayle's Dict. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Essay
on Revel. (6) Vol. ii. chap. I. (7) The fall of Papal Rome.

latter times, '1 Tim. iv. 1.' (1). In proof of this point, he republishes the dissenter Benson's Dissertation on *The Man of Sin*. (2) I purpose, therefore, making a few remarks on the leading points of this adoptive child of his lordship, as also upon some of the Rev. Mr. Kett's illustrations of them. First, then, we all know that *the revelation of the man of sin* will be accompanied with a *revolt* or *falling off*—in other words, with a great apostasy; but it is a question to be discussed between me and bishop Watson, whether this character of *apostasy* is more applicable to the Catholic Church, or to that class of religionists who adopt his opinions? To decide this point, let me ask, what are the first and principal articles of the three creeds professed by his church as well as by ours, that of the apostles, that of Nice, and that of St. Athanasius, as likewise of the articles, his liturgy, and his canons? Incontestably those which profess a belief in the blessed Trinity, and the incarnation of the consubstantial Son of the eternal Father. Now it is notorious, that every Catholic, throughout the world, holds these the fundamental articles of Christianity as firmly now as St. Athanasius himself did 1500 years ago: but what says his lordship, with numberless other Protestant Christians of this country, on these heads? Let the preface to his Collection be consulted, (3) in which, if he does not *openly deny* the Trinity, he excuses the Unitarians, who deny it on the ground that they are *afraid of becoming idolaters by worshipping Jesus Christ*. (4) Let his charges be examined: in one of these he says to his clergy, that "he does not think it *safe* to tell them what the Christian doctrines are;" (5) no, not so much as the unity and trinity of God. In another charge, however, the bishop assumes more courage and informs his clergy, that "Protestantism consists in believing what each one pleases, and in professing what he believes." How much should I rejoice to have this question of *apostasy*, between the bishop of Landaff and me, decided by Luther, Calvin, Beza, Cranmer, Ridley, and James I. were it not for the proofs which history affords me, that, not content with excluding him from the class of Christians, they would assuredly burn him at the stake as an apostate. The second character of antichrist, set down by St. Paul, is, that he *opposeth and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself as if he were God*.

(1) Bishop Watson's Collect. p. 7. (2) Ibid. p. 268. (3) Vol. i. Pref. p. 15, &c. (4) P. 17. (5) Bishop Watson's Charge, 1795.

2 Thess. ii. 4. This character Mr. Benson and bishop Watson think applicable to the pope, who, they say, claims the attributes and homage due to the Deity. I leave you, reverend sir, and your friends, to judge of the truth of this character, when I inform you that the pope has his confessor like other Catholics, to whom he confesses his sins in private; and that every day, in saying Mass, he bows before the altar, and in the presence of the people confesses that he has "sinned in thought, word, and deed," begging them to pray to God for him; and that afterwards, in the most solemn part of it, he professes "his hopes for forgiveness, not through his own merits, but through the bounty and grace of Jesus Christ our Lord." (1) The third mark of antichrist is, that *his coming is according to the working of satan, in all power, and signs, and lying wonders*, 2 Thess. ii. 9. From this passage of holy writ, it appears that antichrist, whenever he does come, will work false, illusive prodigies, as the magicians of Pharaoh did. But from the divine promises, it is evident that the ~~disciples~~ of Christ will continue to work *true* miracles, such as he himself wrought; and from the testimony of the holy fathers and all ecclesiastical writers, it is incontestible that certain servants of God have been enabled by him to work them from time to time ever since this his promise. This I have elsewhere demonstrated; as likewise that the fact is denied by Protestants, not for want of evidence, as to its truth, but because this is necessary for the defence of their system. (2) Still it is false that the Catholic Church ever claimed *a power of working miracles in the order of nature*, as her opponents pretend. All that we say is, that God is pleased from time to time to illustrate the true Church with real miracles, and thereby to shew that she belongs to him.

The latest dealer in prophecies, who boasts that his books have been revised by the bishop of Lincoln, (3) by way of shewing the conformity between antichristian Popery and the *beast, that did great signs, so that he made fire to come down from heaven unto the earth, in the sight of men*, Rev. xiii, 13, says of the former, "even fire is pretended to come down from heaven as in the case of *St. Antony's fire*." (4) I am almost ashamed to refute so illiterate a cavil. True it is that the hospital monks of St. Antony were heretofore famous for curing the Erysipelas with a peculiar ointment, on which

(1) Canon of the Mass. (2) Part ii. Letter xxvi. (3) Interpret, of Prophecy, by H. Kett, LL.B. pref. (4) Kett, vol. ii. p. 22.

account that disease acquired the name of *St. Antony's fire*; (1) but neither these monks, nor any other Catholics, were used to invoke that inflammation, or any other burning whatsoever from heaven or elsewhere. I beg that you and your friends will suspend your opinion of the fourth alleged resemblance between antichrist and the pope, that of persecuting the saints, till I have leisure to treat that subject in greater detail than I can at present. I shall take no notice at all of the writer's chronological calculations, nor of the anagrams and chronograms, by which many Protestant expounders have endeavoured to extract the mysterious number 666 from the name or title of certain popes, farther than to observe, that ingenious Catholics have extracted the same number from the name *Martinus Lutherus*, and even from that of David Chrytheus, who was the most celebrated inventor of those riddles.

Such are the grounds on which certain refractory children, in modern ages, have ventured to call their true Mother a *prostitute*, and the common father of Christians, the author of their own conversion from Paganism, *the man of sin* and the very *antichrist*. But they do not really believe what they declare: their object being only to inflame the ignorant multitude. I have sufficient reason to think this, when I hear a Luther threatening to unsay all that he had said against the pope, a Melancthon lamenting that Protestants had renounced him, a Beza negotiating to return to him, and a late Warburton-lecturer lamenting, on his death-bed, that he could not do the same without impoverishing his wife and children.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER LX.—To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, A. M.

REV. SIR,—THERE can be no doubt but that the vicar has gone beyond the wishes of his friends and patrons, in different parts of his reply, and in no part of it more so than where he maintains that the pope is the *man of sin, and son of perdition*, described by St. Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 3, and, in short, the identical *antichrist* mentioned by St. John, *who denied the Father and the Son*, 1 John, ii. 22. A great proportion of our

(1) Paquotius, in *Molanum de Sac. Imag.*

pope's apostasy, if he meant to argue, and not barely to assert. I shewed by many arguments that the second mark of antichrist, namely, that he *opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, shewing himself that he is God*, is not more applicable to the pope than the former. The vicar contravenes my arguments, but without attempting to answer them; on the contrary, he satisfies himself with asking: "Is not the assumption of universal dominion over kingdoms and nations an act of antichristian arrogance, whether exercised by a Hildebrand or a Pius VII. and does it not exactly accord with what St. Paul says of him; *Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God?*" To this question of the vicar I answer NO: because a potentate may exalt himself above all other men, without opposing and exalting himself *above God*. And how does he attempt to prove this alleged "assumption of universal dominion over kingdoms and nations" on the part of the pope? He heaps together a great number of names and titles, by which, he says, the pope has been called by different persons, some of them absurd and impious, some of them proper and pious, some of them real and others feigned. (1) In the mean time, what alone regards the present point, the pope himself assumes no other title than that of *servus servorum Dei*, servant to the servants of God.

The vicar's only remaining proof of the pope's being antichrist, consists in his anagram of the word *λατρευω*, from which he professes to extract the number of the beast 666. Now, supposing the vicar could expound his riddle to the satisfaction of all the learned men in Christendom as well as his own, what would he prove thereby, except that his own orders, hierarchy, liturgy, cathedral and abbey churches, together with our common christianity, are all derived from antichrist! Nay, he will be forced to confess he himself, at the present time, is *a member of antichrist*, since he is confessedly not a *Greek*, but a *Latin* christian! Regardless, however, of consequences, though absurd as well as impious, the vicar concludes his letter as he began it, with emphatically declaring: "That the pope is ANTICHRIST."

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

(1) It is utterly false that, in the Commentaries of the Canon Law, the pope is called "Our Lord God." As to the title of *Vicar of Christ*, on which the vicar chiefly harps, I presume that when he preaches in his church of Templebodane, he professes to announce the word of Christ, and thereby claims to speak as *his* vicar.

THE POPE'S SUPREMACY.

LETTER LXI.—To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.

REV. SIR,—THIS acknowledges the honour of three different letters from you, which I have not, till now, been able to notice. The objections contained in the two former, are either answered, or will, with the help of God, be answered by me. The chief purport of your last, is to assure me, that the absurd and impious tenet, of the pope being antichrist, never was a part of your faith, nor even your opinion; but that having read over Dr. Barrow's *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, as well as what bishop Porteus has published upon it, you cannot but be of archbishop Tillotson's mind, who published the abovenamed treatise; namely, that "the pope's supremacy is not only an indefensible, but also an impudent cause; that there is not one tolerable argument for it, and that there are a thousand invincible reasons against it." (1) Your liberality, rev. sir, on the former point, justifies the idea I had formed of you: with respect to the second, whether the pope's claim of supremacy, or Tillotson's assertion concerning it, is *impudent*, I shall leave you to determine, when you shall have perused the present letter. But, as this, like other subjects of our controversy, has been enveloped in a cloud of misrepresentation, I must begin with dissipating this cloud, and with clearly stating what the faith of the Catholic Church is concerning the matter in question.

It is not, then, the faith of this Church, that the pope has any civil or temporal supremacy, by virtue of which he can depose princes, or give or take away the property of other persons, out of his own domain: for even the incarnate Son of God, from whom he derives the supremacy which he possesses, did not claim here upon earth any right of the abovementioned kind; on the contrary, he positively declared that *his kingdom is not of this world!* Hence the Catholics of both our islands have, without impeachment even from Rome, denied, upon oath, that "the pope has any civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm." (2) But, as it is undeniable, that different popes in former ages have pronounced sentence of deposition

(1) Tillotson's Preface to Barrow's *Treatise*. (2) 31 Geo. III. c. 32.

against certain contemporary princes, and as great numbers of theologians have held, though not as a matter of faith, that they had a right to do so; it seems proper, by way of mitigating the odium which Dr. Porteus and other Protestants raise against them on this head, to state the grounds on which the pontiffs acted, and the divines reasoned, in this business. Heretofore the kingdoms, principalities, and states, composing the Latin church, when they were all of the same religion, formed, as it were, one Christian republic, of which the pope was the accredited head. Now, as mankind have been sensible at all times, that the duty of civil allegiance and submission cannot extend beyond a certain point, and that they ought not to surrender their property, lives, and morality, to be sported with by a Nero or a Heliogabalus; instead of deciding the nice point for themselves, when resistance becomes lawful, they thought it right to be guided by their chief pastor. The kings and princes themselves acknowledged this right in the pope, and frequently applied to him to make use of his indirect temporal power, as appears in numberless instances. (1) In latter ages, however, since christendom has been disturbed by a variety of religions, this power of the pontiffs has been generally withdrawn. Princes make war upon each other at their pleasure, and subjects rebel against their princes as their passions dictate, (2) to the great detri-

(1) See in Matt. Paris, A. D. 1195, the appeal of our king Richard I. to pope Celestin III, against the duke of Aus'tria, for having detained him prisoner at Trivallis, and the pope's sentence of excommunication against the duke, for refusing to do him justice. (2) In every country in which Protestantism was preached, sedition and rebellion, with the total or partial deposition of the lawful sovereign ensued, not without the active concurrence of the preachers themselves. Luther formed a league of princes and states in Germany against the emperor, which desolated the empire for more than a century. His disciples, Muncer and Stork, taking advantage of the pretended *evangelical liberty* which he taught, at the head of 40,000 Anabaptists, claimed the empire and possession of the world, in quality of *the meek ones*, and enforced their demand with fire and sword, dispossessing princes and lawful owners, &c. Zuinglius lighted up a similar flame throughout Switzerland, at Geneva, &c. and died fighting, sword in hand, for the reformation which he preached. The United States embraced Protestantism, and renounced their sovereign, Philip, at the same time. The Calvinists of France, in conformity with the doctrine of their master, namely, that "princes deprive themselves of their power, when they resist God, and that it is better to spit in their faces than obey them," Dan. vi. 22, as soon as they found themselves strong enough, rose in arms, against their sovereigns, and dispossessed them of half of their dominions. Knox, Goodman, Buchanan, and the other preachers of Presbyterianism in Scotland, having taught the people, that "princes may be deposed by their subjects, if they be tyrants against God and his truth;" and that

ment of both parties, as may be gathered from what Sir Edward Sandys, an early and zealous Protestant, writes: "The pope was the common father, adviser, and conductor of Christians, to reconcile their enmities, and decide their differences." (1) I have to observe, secondly, that the question here is not about the personal qualities or conduct of any particular pope, or the popes in general: at the same time it is proper to state, that in a list of 253 popes, who have successively filled the chair of St. Peter, only a small comparative number of them have disgraced it, while a great proportion of them have done honour to it by their virtues and conduct. On this head I must again quote Addison, who says, "the pope is generally a man of learning and virtue, mature in years and experience, who has seldom any vanity or pleasure to gratify at his people's expense, and is neither encumbered with wife or children, or mistresses." (2)

In the third place, I must remind you and my other friends, that I have nothing here to do with the doctrine of the pope's individual infallibility (when pronouncing *ex cathedra*, as the term is, he addresses the whole Church, and delivers the faith of it upon some contested article), (3) nor would you, in case you were to become a Catholic, be required to believe in any doctrines, except such as are held by the whole Catholic Church, with the pope at its head. But, without enter-

"it is blasphemy to say that kings are to be obeyed, good or bad," disposed them for the perpetration of those riots and violences, including the murder of cardinal Beaton, and the deposition and captivity of their lawful sovereign, by which Protestantism was established in that country. With respect to England, no sooner was the son of Henry dead, than a Protestant usurper, lady Jane, was set up, in prejudice of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, and supported by Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Sandys, Poyner, and every reformer of any note, because she was a Protestant. Finally, it was upon the principles of the Reformation, especially of each man's explaining the scripture for himself, and a hatred of Popery, that the grand rebellion was begun and carried on, till the king was beheaded and the constitution destroyed. Has then the cause of humanity, or that of peace and order, been benefited by the change in question?

(1) Survey of Europe, p. 202. (2) Remarks on Italy, p. 112. (3) The following is a specimen of Barrow's and Tillotson's chicanery in their *Treatise of the Supremacy*. Bellarmine, in working up an argument on the pope's infallibility, says, *hypothetically*, by way of proving the falsehood of his opponents' doctrine, that "this doctrine would oblige the Church to believe *vices to be good and virtues to be bad*, in case the pope were to err in teaching this." Bell. De Rom. Pont. l. iv. c. 5. Hence these writers take occasion to affirm, that Bellarmine *positively teaches*, that "if the pope should err, by enjoining vices, or forbidding virtues, the Church would be bound to believe vices to be good and virtues evil!" p. 203. This shameful misrepresentation has been taken up by most subsequent Protestant controvertists.

ing into this, or any other scholastic question, I shall content myself with observing, that it is impossible for any man of candour and learning not to concur with a celebrated Protestant author, namely Causabon, who writes thus: "No one who is the least versed in ecclesiastical history, can doubt that God made use of the holy see, during many ages, to preserve the doctrines of faith!" (1)

At length we arrive at the question itself, which is: Whether the bishop of Rome, who, by pre-eminence, is called *papa* (*pope*, or *father of the faithful*), is, or is not, entitled to a superior rank and jurisdiction, above other bishops of the Christian Church, so as to be its *spiritual head* here upon earth, and his see *the centre of Catholic unity*? All Catholics necessarily hold the affirmative of this question; while the above-mentioned tergiversating primate denies that there is a tolerable argument in its favour. (2) Let us begin with consulting the New Testament, in order to see whether or no the first pope or bishop of Rome, St. Peter, was any way superior to the other apostles. St. Matthew, in numbering up the apostles, expressly says of him: *THE FIRST, Simon, who is called Peter*, Matt. x. 2. In like manner, the other evangelists, while they class the other apostles differently, still give the *first* place to Peter. (3) In fact, as Bossuet observes, (4) "St. Peter was the *first* to confess his faith in Christ; (5) the *first* to whom Christ appeared, after his resurrection; (6) the *first* to preach the belief of this to the people; (7) the *first* to convert the Jews; (8) and the *first* to receive the Gentiles." (9) Again, I would ask, is there no distinction implied, in St. Peter's being called upon by Christ, to declare three several times that he *loved* him, and even that he *loved him more* than his fellow apostles, and in his being each time charged to *feed Christ's lambs*, and, at length, to *feed his sheep also*, whom the lambs are used to follow? (10) What else is here signified, but that this apostle was to act

(1) Exercit. xv. ad Annal. Baron. (2) Tillotson's father was an Anabaptist, and he himself was professedly a Puritan preacher till the Restoration; so that there is reason to doubt whether he ever received either episcopal ordination or baptism. His successor, Secker, was also a dissenter, and his baptism has been called in question. The former, with bishop Burnet, was called upon to attend lord Russel at his execution, when they absolutely insisted, as a point necessary for salvation, on his disclaiming the lawfulness of resistance in any case whatever. Presently after, the Revolution happening, they themselves declared for lord Russel's principles. (3) Mark, iii. 16. Luke, vi. 14. Acts, i. 13. (4) Orat. ad Cler. (5) Matt. xvi. 16. (6) Luke, xxiv. 34. (7) Acts, ii. 14. (8) Ver. 39-41. (9) Ibid. x. 47. (10) John, xxi. 15.

the part of a shepherd, not only with respect to the flock in general, but also with respect to the pastors themselves? The same is plainly signified by our Lord's prayer for the faith of this apostle, in *particular*, and the charge that he subsequently gave him. *Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.* Luke, xxii. 32. Is there no mysterious meaning in the circumstance marked by the evangelist, of Christ's *entering into Simon's ship* in preference to that of James and John, in order to *teach the people out of it*; and in the subsequent miraculous *draught of fishes*, together with our Lord's prophetic declaration to Simon: *Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men*? Luke, v. 3, 10. But the strongest proof of St. Peter's superior dignity and jurisdiction, consists in that explicit and energetical declaration of our Saviour to him, in the quarters of Cesarea Philippi, upon his making that glorious confession of our Lord's divinity, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* Our Lord had mysteriously changed his name, at his first interview with him, when Jesus, looking upon him, said: *Thou art Simon, the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter,* John, i. 42: and, on the present occasion, he explains the mystery, where he says: *Blessed art thou Simon, Bar-Jona: because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven: and I say to thee that thou art Peter, (a Rock) and UPON THIS ROCK I WILL BUILD MY CHURCH, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.* Matt. xv. 17, 18, 19. Where now, I ask, is the sincere Christian, and especially the Christian who professes to make scripture the sole rule of his faith, who, with these passages of the inspired text before his eyes, will venture, at the risk of his soul, to deny that any special dignity or charge was conferred upon St. Peter, in preference to the other apostles? I trust no such Christian is to be found in your society. Now, as it is a point agreed upon, at least in your church and mine, that bishops, in general, succeed to the rank and functions of the apostles: so, by the same rule, the successor of St. Peter, in the see of Rome, succeeds to his primacy and jurisdiction. This cannot be questioned by any serious Christian, who reflects that,

when our Saviour gave his orders about *feeding his flock*, and made his declaration about building his Church, he was not establishing an order of things to last during the few years that St. Peter had to live, but one that was to last as long as he should have a flock and a church on earth, that is, to the end of time, conformably with his promise to the apostles and their successors, in the concluding words of St. Matthew: *Behold I am with you always, even to the end of the world.* Matt. xxviii. 20.

That St. Peter, after governing for a time the patriarchate of Antioch, the capital of the East, and thence sending his disciple, Mark, to establish that of Africa at Alexandria, finally fixed his own see at Rome, the capital of the world; that his successors there have each of them exercised the power of supreme pastor, and have been acknowledged as such by all Christians, except by notorious heretics and schismatics, from the apostolic age down to the present, the writings of the fathers, doctors, and historians of the Church unanimously testify. St. Paul, having been converted, and raised to the apostleship in a miraculous manner, thought it necessary to *go up to Jerusalem to see Peter, where he abode with him fifteen days.* Galat. i. 18. St. Ignatius, who was a disciple of the apostles, and next successor, after Evodius, of St. Peter in the see of Antioch, addressed his most celebrated epistle to the church, which, he says, "PRESIDES in the country of the Romans." (1) About the same time, dissensions taking place in the church of Corinth, the case was referred to the church of Rome, to which the holy pope Clement, *whose name is written the book of life*, Philip, iv. 3, returned an apostolic answer of exhortation and instruction. (2) In the second century, St. Irenæus, who had been instructed by St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the evangelist, referring to the tradition of the apostles, preserved in the church of Rome, calls it "the greatest, most ancient, and most universally known, as having been founded by St. Peter and St. Paul; to which he says every church is bound to conform, by reason of its superior authority." (3) Tertullian, a priest of the Roman church, who flourished near the same time, calls St. Peter "the rock of the Church," and says, that "the Church was built upon him." (4) Speaking of the bishop of Rome, he terms him in different places, "the blessed pope, the high

(1) Προκαθῆται Epist. Ignat. Cotelero. (2) Ibid. (3) "Ad hanc ecclesiam convenire necesse est omnem ecclesiam." Contra Hæres. l. iii. c. 3. (4) Prescrip. l. i. c. 22. De Monogam.

priest, the apostolic prelate," &c. I must add, that at this early period, pope Victor exerted his superior authority, by threatening the bishops of Asia with excommunication, for their irregularity in celebrating Easter, and the other moveable feasts; from which rigorous measure he was deterred, chiefly by St. Irenæus. (1) In the third century, we hear Origen (2) and St. Cyprian repeatedly affirming that the Church was "founded on Peter," that he "fixed his chair at Rome," that this is "the mother church," and "the root of Catholicism." (3) The latter expresses great indignation, that certain African schismatics should dare to approach "the see of Peter, the head church and source of ecclesiastical unity." (4) It is true this father afterwards had a dispute with pope Stephen about rebaptizing converts from heresy; but this proves nothing more than that he did not think the pope's authority superior to general tradition, which, through mistake, he supposed to be on his side. To what degree, however, he did admit this authority, appears by his advising this same pope to depose Marcian, a schismatical bishop of Gaul, and to appoint another bishop in his place. (5) At the beginning of the fourth century, we have the learned Greek historian, Eusebius, explaining in clear terms the ground of the Roman pontiff's claim to superior authority, which he derives from St. Peter; (6) we have also the great champion of orthodoxy, and the patriarch of the second see in the world, St. Athanasius, appealing to the bishop of Rome, which see he terms, "the mother and the head of all other churches." (7) In fact, the pope reversed the sentence of deposition pronounced by the saint's enemies, and restored him to his patriarchal chair. (8) Soon after this, the council of Sardica confirmed the bishop of Rome in his right of receiving appeals from all the churches in the world. (9) Even the pagan historian, Ammianus, about the same time, bears testimony to the superior authority of the Roman pontiff. (10) In the same century, St. Basil, St. Hilary, St. Epiphanius, St. Ambrose, and other fathers and doctors, teach the same thing. Let it suffice to say, that the first named of these scruples not to advise, that the pope should send visitors to the Eastern churches, to correct the disorders which the Arians had caused in them; (11) and that the last mentioned repre-

(1) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. v. c. 24. (2) Hom. 5 in Exod. Hom. 17 in Luc. (3) Ep. ad Cornel. Ep. ad Auton. De Unit. &c. (4) Ep. ad Cornel. 55. (5) Ep. 29. (6) Euseb. Chron. An. 44. (7) Epist. ad Marc. (8) Socrat. Hist. l. ii. c. 2. Zozom. (9) Can. 3. (10) Rerum. Gest. l. xv. (11) Epist. 52.

sents communion with the bishop of Rome as communion with the Catholic Church. (1) I must add, that the great St. Chrysostom, having been soon after unjustly deposed from his seat in the Eastern metropolis, was restored to it by the authority of pope Innocent; that pope Leo termed his church, "the head of the world," because its spiritual power, as he alleged, extended farther than the temporal power of Rome had ever extended. (2) Finally, the learned Jerom, being distracted with the disputes among three parties, which divided the church of Antioch, to which church he was then subject, wrote for directions on this head to pope Damasus as follows: "I, who am but a sheep, apply to my shepherd for succour I am united in communion with your holiness; that is to say, with the chair of Peter. I know that the Church is built upon that *rock*. He who eats the paschal lamb out of that house is profane. Whoever is not in Noah's ark will will perish by the deluge. I know nothing of Vitalis, I reject Meletius, I am innocent of Paulinus; he who does not gather with thee scatters," &c. (3) It were useless after this to cite the numerous testimonies to the pope's supremacy, which St. Augustin, and all the fathers, doctors, and church historians, and all the general councils bear down to the present time. However, as the authority of our apostle, pope Gregory the great, is claimed by most Protestant divines on their side, and is alluded to by bishop Porteus, (4) merely for having censured the pride of John, patriarch of Constantinople, in assuming to himself the title of *œcumenical* or *universal bishop*, it is proper to shew that this pope, like all the others who went before him and came after him, did claim and exercise the power of supreme pastor throughout the Church. Speaking of this very attempt of John, he says: "The care of the whole Church was committed to Peter, and yet he is not called the universal apostle." (5) With respect to the see of Constantinople, he says: "Who doubts but it is subject to the apostolical see;" and again: "When bishops commit a fault, I know not what bishop is not subject to it" (*the see of Rome*). (6) As no pope was ever more vigilant in discharging the duties of his exalted station than St.

(1) Orat. in Obit. Satyr. (2) Sermon de Nat. Apos. This sentiment another father of the Church, in the following century, St. Prosper, expressed in these lines:—

"Sedes Roma Petri, quæ, *pastoralis honoris*
Facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis
 Religione tenet."

(3) Ep. ad Damas. (4) P. 78. (5) Ep. Greg 1, v. 20.

Gregory, so none of them, perhaps, exercised more numerous or widely extended acts of the supremacy than he did. It is sufficient to cite here his directions to St. Augustin of Canterbury, whom he had sent into this island for the conversion of our Saxon ancestors, and who had consulted him by letter how he was to act with respect to the French bishops and the bishops of this island, namely, the British prelates in Wales, and the Pictish and Scotch in the northern parts? To this question pope Gregory returns an answer in the following words: "We give you no jurisdiction over the bishops of Gaul, because from ancient times my predecessors have conferred the *pallium* (the ensign of legatine authority) on the bishop of Arles, whom we ought not to deprive of the authority he has received. But we commit all the bishops of Britain to your care, that the ignorant among them may be instructed, the weak strengthened, and the perverse corrected by your authority." (1) After this, is it possible to believe that bishop Porteus and his fellow-writers ever read venerable Bede's History of the English Nation? But if they could even succeed in proving that Christ had not built his Church upon St. Peter and his successors, and had not given to them the keys of the kingdom of heaven; it would still remain for them to prove that he had founded any part of it on Henry VIII. Edward VI. and their successors, or that he had given the mystical keys to Elizabeth and her successors. I have shewn, in a former letter, that these sovereigns exercised a more despotic power over all the ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs of this realm than any pope ever did, even in the city of Rome; and that the changes in religion, which took place in their reigns, were effected by them and their agents, not by the bishops or any clergy whatever; and yet no one will pretend to shew from scripture, tradition, or reason, that these princes had received any greater power from Christ, over the doctrine and discipline of his Church, than he conferred upon Tiberius, Pilate, or Herod, or than he has given at the present day to the Great Turk or the Lama of Thibet in their respective domains.

Before I close this letter, I think it right to state the sentiments of a few eminent Protestants respecting the pope's supremacy. I have already mentioned that Luther acknowledged it, and submissively bowed to it, during the first three years of his dogmatizing about justification, and till his doctrine was condemned at Rome. In like manner, our Henry

(1) Hist. Bed. l. i. c. 27. Resp. 9. Spelm. Concil. p 98

VIII. asserted it, and wrote a book in defence of it; in reward of which the pope conferred upon him and his successors the new title of *Defender of the Faith*. Such was his doctrine till, becoming amorous of his queen's maid of honour, Ann Bullen, and finding the pope conscientiously inflexible in refusing to grant him a divorce from the former, and to sanction an adulterous connexion with the latter, he set himself up as *supreme head of the church of England*, and maintained his claim by the arguments of halters, knives, and axes. James I. in his first speech to parliament, termed Rome "the mother church," and in his writings allowed the pope to be "the patriarch of the West." The late archbishop Wake, after all his bitter writings against the pope and the Catholic Church, coming to discuss the terms of a proposed union between this Church and that of England, expressed himself willing to allow a certain superiority to the Roman pontiff. (1) Bishop Bramhall had expressed the same sentiment. (2) sensible, as he was, that no peace or order could subsist in the Christian Church, any more than in a political state, without a supreme authority. Of the truth of this maxim, two others, among the greatest men whom Protestantism has to boast of, the Lutheran Melancthon, and the Calvinist Hugo Grotius, were deeply persuaded. The former had written to prove the pope to be antichrist; but seeing the animosities, the divisions, the errors, and the impieties of the pretended reformers, with whom he was connected, and the utter impossibility of putting a stop to these evils without returning to the ancient system, he wrote thus to Francis I. of France: "We acknowledge in the first place, that ecclesiastical government is a thing holy and salutary; namely, that there should be certain bishops to govern the pastors of several churches, and that **THE ROMAN PONTIFF** should be above all the bishops. For the Church stands in need of governors, to examine and ordain those who are called to the ministry, and to watch over their doctrine; so that if there were no bishops, they ought to be created." (3) The latter great man, Grotius, was learned, wise, and always consistent. In proof of this he wrote as follows to the minister Rivet: "All who are acquainted with Grotius, know how earnestly he has wished to see Christians united together in

(1) "*Suo Gaudeat qualicumque Primatu.*" See Maclain's Third Appendix to Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. (2) Answer to Millicere. (3) D'Argentre, Collect. Jud. t. i. p. 2. Bercastel and Feller relate that Melancthon's mother, who was a Catholic, having consulted him about her religion, he persuaded her to continue in it.

one body. This he once thought might be accomplished by a union among Protestants; but afterwards he saw that this was impossible. Because, not to mention the aversion of Calvinists to every sort of union, Protestants are not bound by any ecclesiastical government, so that they can neither be united at present, nor prevented from splitting into fresh divisions. Therefore Grotius now is fully convinced, as many others are also, that Protestants never can be united among themselves, unless they join those who adhere to the Roman see; without which there never can be any general church-government. Hence, he wishes that the revolt and the causes of it may be removed: among which causes, the primacy of the bishop of Rome was not one, as Melancthon confessed, who also thought that primacy necessary to restore union." (1)

I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

LETTER LXII.—To the Rev. ROBERT CLAYTON, M. A.

REV. SIR,—THE effect of strong bigotry, or prejudice, is two-fold: one is to blind the understanding to the clearest evidence in opposition to it; the other is to deaden the sentiment, so as to render the mind indifferent whether the opinion it is determined to adhere to be true or false. I leave you to judge for yourself, in which of these unfortunate predicaments the vicar was when copying the latitudinarian Tillotson, (2) he wrote as follows: "The pope's supremacy is

(1) Apol. ad Rivet. (2) Archbishop Tillotson was the son of an Anabaptist, and in all probability was never baptized: the entry of his name in the register of Sowerby, in Yorkshire, which his biographer Birch refers to, having, in all probability, been foisted into it after his high promotion. On the other hand, his alleged *ordination* by a Scotch bishop in England is more than suspicious. His connexions in early life were chiefly among the Puritans: with them he assisted at Cromwell's death, when the chief of them, Dr. Goodwin, blasphemously reproached the Almighty with having *deceived him*, as likewise at the Conferences at the Savoy. Every one knows, that, being called upon to attend lord Russel at his death, he absolutely insisted upon his confessing the doctrine of *non-resistance*, as a condition *necessary for his salvation*, and that, very soon after this, he accepted of the primacy of which the consistent Sancroft had been deprived, for adhering to that doctrine of his church. His favourite author was "the incomparable Chillingworth," as he called him, who upon deserting the Catholic religion, like other deserters of that description, became a decided latitudinarian.

not only an indefensible, but an *impudent* cause: there is not one tolerable argument for it, and there are a thousand invincible reasons against it." Strange it would be, if this were so, that all the greatest and best Christians in every country should have been dupes to an *impudent cause that has not one tolerable argument for it, and a thousand invincible reasons against it*, till the beginning of the sixteenth century when an infuriate friar in Germany, and a libidinous prince in England, discovered this impudence! And on what occasions did they make these discoveries? Why, indeed, it was on occasion of pope Leo censuring some heterodox positions of the former respecting indulgences, good works, free will, &c. and of pope Clement refusing to divorce the latter from his lawful wife, with whom he had lived twenty years, to enable him to marry her maid of honour!

I do and must consider it as a proof either of the stone-blindness or insensible obduracy of the rev. vicar, that he does not perceive so much as a *tolerable argument* for the pope's or even St. Peter's supremacy in Christ's emphatical words to the latter, when he first saw him; *Thou art Simon, the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cepha, which is interpreted PETER*, or a ROCK, John, i. 42: nor even in those other words to him on a subsequent occasion: *Blessed art thou Simon, the son of Jona, because flesh and blood have not revealed this* (the knowledge of Christ's divinity) *to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee: Thou art Peter* (or a Rock), *and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, &c* Matt. xvi. 18. I omit the other scriptural texts to the same purpose, quoted in my letter. To the irresistible force of these scriptural proofs, the vicar opposes the most feeble objections. He alleges first, that "although Peter had been the *Rock* on which the Church was built, yet, that this Church was not the church of Rome, but the church of Jerusalem." Just as if Christ, in speaking of the Church which he was to build on Peter, and against which the forces of hell should not prevail, meant the congregation of any particular city, and not the whole Catholic Church! The vicar objects, secondly, that St. Paul says, 2 Cor. xi. 5, *I am not a whit behind the chief of the apostles*. I answer that the apostle clearly speaks of his ministry, as a preacher of the gospel, not of his rank or authority as an apostle. He objects, thirdly, that St. Paul withstood St. Peter, when he withdrew himself from the company of the Gentiles at Antioch, Galat. ii. 11. True, and so may every inferior withstand a superior, when

by too much condescension the latter exposes the Church to danger. He objects, fourthly, that *there was a strife among the apostles, at the last supper, which of them should seem greater*: Luke, xxii. 24. No wonder, rev. sir, when you reflect that St. Andrew was the first disciple, St. Matthew the best educated among them, and St. John the best beloved: besides this, St. Peter had not then received his commission. But what trifling is all this, together with the rest of the vicar's objections against St. Peter's supremacy: such as his falling asleep in the garden, his momentary weakness in denying Christ, his beginning to sink when he walked on the water, &c.

The superiority of St. Peter being established, the next question is, whether this descended to his successors in the see of Rome. The vicar admits "there are strong grounds for supposing that St. Peter was at Rome the year preceding his martyrdom." But, if credit is to be given to the ancient fathers and church historians, such as Tertullian, SS. Irenæus, Athanasius, Chrysostom, (1) Jerom, Leo, Eusebius, &c. we have something better than the vicar's *supposition* for this fact: we have irrefragable evidence of St. Peter's having been at Rome, and having governed the Church there many years. The vicar next objects that the popes do not succeed to St. Peter "as apostles, because," says he, "they do not inherit the miraculous gifts of the apostles." But first, what Catholic ever pretended that the popes, after St. Peter, were apostles? I answer, not one of them. It is enough for them to have succeeded to the see in which St. Peter finally established the supremacy. In the next place, with respect to the *miraculous gifts*, it might be expected that the vicar would have learnt from the Acts and St. Paul's epistles, that so far from these being peculiar to the apostles, they were possessed in the apostolic age not only by the deacons, but also by the faithful in general. (2)

The vicar's usual chicanery accompanies his remarks on the testimonies of the ancient fathers in behalf of the pope's supremacy. I quoted the illustrious bishop and martyr of the

(1) St. Chrysostom was a native of Antioch, and a priest of that church before he became bishop of Constantinople. His testimony, in the former capacity, is no less weighty than it is clear in this matter. What he says is this: "It is one of the privileges of our city (Antioch) to have had for its master, St. Peter, chief of the apostles. It was just that the city, which first bore the name of *Christian*, should have for its pastor the first of the apostles. But having enjoyed that happiness, we would not engross it to ourselves, but delivered him to Rome, the imperial city." Hom. 12. Tom. v. (2) Acts, vi. 8. viii. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 30. &c.

second century on this head, who says: "we confound all heretics by the tradition of the greatest, most ancient, and universally known church, which was founded at Rome by the glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, to which every church is bound to conform by reason of its superior authority." (1) This testimony the vicar tries to elude, by saying that "as Rome was the capital of the empire, it follows that the church of Rome would acquire an ascendancy among the churches of the empire!" But Milan, Aquileia, and other cities afterwards were the capitals, without acquiring this ascendancy. He next says, that Irenæus has asserted a falsehood, "in saying it (the church of Rome) was the most *ancient*, because the establishment of the church of Jerusalem was *antecedent to it!*" Proceeding to notice Tertullian, St. Cyprian, and the other fathers whom I cited, as bearing testimony to the supremacy of the Roman see, the vicar makes an effort to extricate himself from his embarrassment with saying, that "their opinion in all probability depended on the authority of Irenæus!" So then it was St. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, in the middle of the second century, who misled the other fathers from St. Ignatius in the first century, down to venerable Bede in the eighth, (1) with all the other fathers and councils during that interval (whose testimonies would fill a large volume), to acknowledge the successor of St. Peter in the see of Rome as the head of the Church! It would be wasting time and ink to argue the point further with such a theologian. In short, the whole of what the vicar has been able to collect from the fathers, in opposition to their numerous and convincing declarations on this head, consists in certain praises which St. Chrysostom bestows upon St. Paul: he says, for example, "no one is greater than St. Paul;" speaking of his *merit* not his *rank*. Again: "the whole world was given to St. Paul:" yes, to *preach in*. "As he laboured more abundantly than the other apostles, so he will be more abundantly rewarded." No doubt St. Chrysostom expressed his conviction in this particular, which however did not prevent him

(1) Lib. iii. contra Hæres. & a great St. Athanasius, who was bishop of the second see in the world, that of Alexandria, calls the church of Rome, "The mother and head of all other churches." St. Ambrose, bishop of the then imperial city of Milan, commends his brother Satyrus, for questioning the bishop, on his landing in Sardinia, "Whether he was in communion with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the church of Rome." St. Augustin, speaking of certain dissensions in Africa, says: "The acts of the councils concerning them have been sent to Rome, and are come back from thence. *The cause is finished: God grant the error may finish also.*"

from appealing to pope Innocent's supremacy, for the purpose of setting aside an unjust sentence of deposition against himself, pronounced by an episcopal cabal in the East, under the influence of the empress Eudoxia,

On the subject of councils, the vicar reproaches me with "laying great stress on the council of Sardis (*as he call it*), which confirmed the bishop of Rome in the right of receiving appeals from all the churches in the world." He adds: "the authority of that council is considered dubious, and its laws spurious, by the most eminent writers; still the plea for assuming supreme jurisdiction in the universal Church must be very weak which only depends on the decrees of one obscure council." Observe, rev. sir, the numerous blunders which our vicar crowds together in one short paragraph; for, first, he confounds together the city of *Sardis* in Lydia, mentioned in the Revelations, c. iii. v. 1, with that of *Sardica* in Illyricum: secondly, if the laws of any council are *spurious*, its authority is evidently *not dubious*, but positively *null*: thirdly, there is no *writer of any eminence*, who has considered the canons of the council of *Sardica* as *spurious*: lastly, this council so far from being an *obscure* one, ranks as a *general council of the Church*, having been collected out of thirty-five different provinces, and consisting of three hundred bishops, (1) among whom were the representatives of the British churches, Restitutus, bishop of London, Eborius, of York, and Adelphius, of *Colonia Londinensium*, whether this was Colchester, Maldon, or Verulam. (2)

The vicar having referred to the general council of Nice, can. vi, as if that contained something to his purpose; I shall barely observe that this is not the case; as the canon in question orders nothing more than that the ancient rule be observed, namely, that the bishops of Africa be confirmed, or

(1) Socrates and Sozomen make them amount to three hundred Western bishops, exclusive of the Eastern prelates. St. Athanasius reckons only one hundred and seventy, exclusive of the Eusebians. (2) St. Athanasius, in his Apology, bears testimony to the fact of the council of Sardica, in which the pope's supreme authority was recognized, being attended by British prelates: which fact alone crushes to atoms the bishop of St. David's laboured system. In addition to this his lordship will find, on examination, that the same representatives of the British churches attended the great council of Arles, in which the Roman computation of Easter was established; see Labbe's Councils, t. i. p. 1430. It was not till after the intercourse of the British and Irish churches with the Roman see was broken off by the Saxon invaders and pirates, that these churches fell into a wrong computation of that festival: which error, however, was different from that of the Eastern Quartodecimans, and peculiar to themselves.

instituted by the patriarch of Alexandria, and those of Asia by the patriarch of Antioch, in the manner, it says, those of Europe are by the pope. This discipline was perfectly reconcilable with the claim of the last mentioned to a general supremacy. Should the vicar wish to see something more express on this point from a general council, he has but to peruse the acts of the council of Ephesus, where the assembled bishops, giving an account of what they had done in a letter to pope Leo, thus say to him: "you presided over our council, as a head over its members, by means of those legates who held your place."

Most Protestant polemics, who have preceded the vicar, in speaking of St. Gregory the great disclaiming for himself, as well as denying to the patriarch of Constantinople, the title *œcumenical* or *universal* bishop, have represented him as disclaiming all *authority* and *jurisdiction* over other bishops; but owing, probably, to the irrefragable proofs produced in my letters to the contrary, particularly in his subjecting all the British and Scotch bishops to his legate St. Augustin, the vicar gives up this argument, and confesses that if "the lordly pretensions of John (of Constantinople) were suspicious, the counter-pretensions of Gregory were still more so." Another objection, however, of those polemics, and allied to it, he has displayed in all its deformity, where he says: "It was reserved for the succeeding age to see the unprincipled Phocas, after the murder of his master, transfer the title of *universal bishop* from the Eastern patriarch to the Roman pontiff." It is unnecessary to expose the other falsehoods contained or supposed in this passage, when it is clear from their records and history, that the popes, from the period in question to the present day, never have claimed or acknowledged the title of *œcumenical*, "lest," as Bellarmine observes, "they should appear to deny that there are any other bishops besides themselves." (1)

The remainder of the vicar's fifteenth letter is made up of loose declamation, invidious falsehood and ridiculous cries of victory. True it is, I told Dr. Porteus and his fellow writers, that "if they could succeed in proving that Christ had not built his Church upon St. Peter and his successors, it would still remain for them to prove that he had founded any part of it on Henry VIII. Edward VI. and their successors, or that they had received any greater power from Christ over the doctrine and discipline of the Church, than he conferred on

"Tiberias, Pilate, or Herod." Now, instead of meeting this argument like a theologian or a scholar, he maliciously distorts it to the prejudice of my loyalty and attachment to my sovereign, as if I compared his majesty, a just and benevolent christian king, with the above-mentioned infidel and sanguinary tyrants! Neither did I in my plate of the apostolic tree, (1) exhibit any living character, nor so much as my personal calumniator, (2) as one of those withered and broken branches, which our Saviour describes as destined to the flames, John, xv. 6. Because I know full well the power of divine grace, which can revive and ingraft him into the living vine of the Catholic Church in a moment of time, as it did St. Paul, while I am conscious that I myself may deserve to be cut off from it, like a second Judas. Another falsehood of the vicar is, that I "repeated the vile fabrication of the Nag's-head affair!" on which subject he vents his utmost spleen, declaring me more guilty in so doing than was his redoubted adversary, Ward, the author of *The Errata*. Now, rev. sir, the truth is, that I never once mentioned or alluded to the *Nags-head affair*, throughout the whole of my letters; so that whatever fabrication there is in the business, it attaches to my antagonist.

The vicar finishes the present subject in the following strains of mock triumph and self-applause: "Thus is the supremacy of the pope discarded by every authority, ancient and modern. I have proved that it is anti-scriptural; that it is not borne out by any thing that St. Peter says of himself, nor by any special authority delegated to him by our Saviour, &c." Such is the testimony which the vicar bears to his own performance: but will any respectable and learned friend of his confirm it with his signature; or attest that he appears to have proved any one single position, among the many which he has advanced in his pretended reply. So far from doing this, I am persuaded that every such friend of the rev. gentleman will seriously advise him, for the credit of his cause, as well as of his character, to avoid in his future publications such extravagant assertions as that which he made at the beginning of his letter, namely, that "the pope's supremacy is an impudent cause, which has not one tolerable argument for it;" and such revolting brag as that with which he con-

(1) It is evident how much the plate of *the Apostolical Tree* annoys the vicar; and yet it is Christ himself, as I have shewn, who furnished the first idea of it. Tertullian dilates that idea, which having done, he exclaims; "Conflagrant tale aliquid hæretici." *Præserio. Contra Hæret.*

(2) See his Answer to Ward.

cludes it, namely, that he has discarded this supremacy of every authority ancient and modern. That there is *impudence* on one side or the other is unquestionable. You, rev sir, and your fellow-readers will judge on which side it lies.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE LITURGY, AND ON READING THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

LETTER LXIII.—To JAMES BROWN, Jun. Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I AGREE with your worthy father, that the departure of the Rev. Mr. Clayton, to a foreign country, is a loss to your Salopian society in more respects than one; and as it is his wish that I should address the few remaining letters I have to write in answer to bishop Porteus's book, to you, sir, who, it seems, agree with him in main, but not altogether, on religious subjects, I shall do so, for your own satisfaction and that of your friends, who are still pleased to hear me upon them. . Indeed the remaining controversies between that prelate and myself are of light moment, compared with those I have been treating of, as they consist chiefly of disciplinary matters, subject to the control of the Church, or of particular facts misrepresented by his lordship.

The first of these points of changeable discipline, which the bishop mentions, or rather declaims upon throughout a whole chapter, is the use of the Latin tongue in the public liturgy of the Latin church. It is natural enough that the church of England, which is of modern date, and confined to its own domain, should adopt its own language in its public worship; and, for a similar reason, it is proper that the great Western or Latin church, which was established by the apostles, when the Latin tongue was the vulgar tongue of Europe, and which still is the common language of educated persons in every part of it, should retain this language in her public service. When the bishop complains of "our worship being performed in *an unknown tongue*," (1) and of our "wicked and cruel cunning in *keeping people in darkness*," (2) by this means, under pretext that "they reverence what they do not understand," (3) he must be conscious of the irreligious

calumnies he is uttering; knowing as he does, that Latin is perhaps, still the most general language of Christianity, (1) and that, where it is not commonly understood, it is *not the Church which has introduced a foreign language* among the people, but it is the *People* who have *forgotten their ancient language*. So far removed is the Catholic Church from "the wicked and cruel cunning of keeping people in ignorance," by retaining her original apostolical languages, the Latin and the Greek, that she strictly commands her pastors every where, "to inculcate the word of God, and the lessons of salvation, to the people in their vulgar tongue, every Sunday and festival throughout the year, (2) and to explain to them the nature and meaning of divine worship as frequently as possible." (3) In like manner, we are so far from imagining that the less our people understand of our liturgy the more they reverence it, that we are quite sure of precisely the contrary; particularly with respect to our principal liturgy, the adorable sacrifice of the Mass. True it is, that a part of this is performed by the priest in silence, because, being a sacred action, as well as a form of words, some of the prayers which the priest says, would not be proper or rational in the mouths of the people. Thus, the high priest of old went *alone* into the tabernacle to make the atonement; (4) and thus Zachary offered incense in the temple *by himself*; while the multitude prayed without. (5) But this is no detriment to the faithful, as they have translations of the liturgy, and other books in their hands, by means of which, or of their own devotion, they can join with the priest in every part of the solemn worship; as the Jewish people united with their priests in the sacrifices abovementioned.

But we are referred by his lordship to 1 Cor. xiv. in order "to see what St. Paul would have judged of the Romanists' practice" in retaining the Latin liturgy; which, after all, he himself and St. Peter established where it now prevails. I answer, that there is not a word in that chapter which mentions or alludes to the public liturgy, which at Corinth was, as it is still, performed in the old Greek; the whole of it regarding an imprudent and ostentatious use of the gift of tongues, in speaking all kinds of languages; which gift many

(1) The Latin language is vernacular in Hungary and the neighbouring countries; it is taught in all the Catholic seminaries of the universe, and it approaches so near to the Italian, Spanish, and French, as to be understood in a general kind of way, by those who use these languages.

(2) Concil. Trid. Sess. c. 7. (3) *Idem*. Sess. xxii. c. 8. (4) Levit. xvi. 17. (5) Luke, i. 10.

of the faithful possessed, at that time, in common with the apostles. The very reason alleged by St. Paul, for prohibiting extemporary prayers and exhortations, which no one understood, namely, that *all things should be done decently and according to order*, is the principal motive of the Catholic Church for retaining in her worship the original languages employed by the apostles. She is, as I before remarked, a *universal Church*, spread over the face of the globe, and composed of *all nations, and tribes, and tongues*, Rev. vii. 9, and these tongues constantly changing; so that instead of the uniformity of worship, as well as of faith, which is so necessary for that *decency and order*, there would be nothing but confusion, disputes, and changes in every part of her liturgy, if it were performed in so many different languages and dialects; with the constant danger of some alteration or other in the essential forms, which would vitiate the very sacrament and sacrifice. The advantage of an ancient language for religious worship, over a modern one, in this and other respects, is acknowledged by the Cambridge professor of divinity, Dr. Hey. He says, that such a one "is fixed and venerable, free from vulgarity, and even more perspicuous." (1) But to return to bishop Porteus's appeal to the judgment of St. Paul, concerning "the Romanists' practice" in retaining the language with the substance of their primitive liturgy, I leave you, dear sir, and your friends, to pronounce upon it, after I shall have stated the following facts: 1st, that St. Paul himself wrote an epistle, which forms part of the liturgy of all Christian churches, to these very *Romanists* in the *Greek language*, though they themselves made use of the Latin: (2) 2dly, that the Jews, after they had exchanged their original Hebrew for the Chaldaic tongue, during the Babylonish captivity, continued to perform their liturgy in the former language, though the vulgar did not understand it; (3) and that our Saviour Christ, as well as his apostles, and other devout friends, attended this service in the temple and the synagogue, without ever censuring it: 3dly, that the Greek churches, in general, no less than the Latin church, retain their original pure Greek tongue in their liturgy, though the common people have forgotten it, and adopted different barbarous dialects instead of it: (4) 4thly, that patriarch Luther maintained, against Carlostad, that the language of public worship was a matter of indif-

(1) Lectures, vol. iv. p. 191. (2) St. Jerom, Epist. 123. (3) Walton's Polyglot Proleg. Hey, &c. (4) Mosheim, by Macclaine, vol. ii. p. 575.

ference. Hence, his disciples professed, in their Augsburg confession, to retain the Latin language in certain parts of their service. Lastly, that when the establishment endeavoured, under Elizabeth, and afterwards under Charles I, to force their liturgy upon the Irish Catholics, it was not thought necessary to translate it into Irish, but it was constantly read in English, of which the natives did not understand a word: thus "furnishing the Papists with an excellent argument against themselves," as Dr. Heylin observes. (1)

The bishop has next a long letter on what he calls *the prohibition of the scriptures* by the Romanists, in which he confuses and disguises the subjects he treats of, to beguile and inflame ignorant readers. I have treated this matter at some length in a former letter, and therefore shall be brief in what I write upon it in this: but what I do write shall be explicit and clear. It is a wicked calumny then that the Catholic Church undervalues the holy scriptures, or prohibits the use of them. On the contrary it is she that has religiously preserved them, as the inspired word of God and his invaluable gift to man, during these eighteen centuries: it is she alone that can and does vouch for their *authenticity*, their *purity*, and their *inspiration*. But, then, she knows that there is an *unwritten word of God*, called tradition, as well as a *written word*, the scriptures; that the former is the *evidence for the authority* of the latter, and that when nations had been *converted*, and churches formed by the *unwritten word*, the authority of this was nowise *abrogated* by the inspired epistles and gospels which the apostles and the evangelists occasionally sent to such nations or churches. In short, both these words together form the Catholic rule of faith. On the other hand, the Church, consisting, according to its more general division, of two distinct classes, the *pastors* and their *flocks*, the *preachers* and their *hearers*, each has its particular duties in the point under consideration, as well as in other respects. The pastors are bound to study the rule of faith in both its parts with unwearied application, to be enabled to acquit themselves of the *first of all their duties*, that of *preaching the gospel* to their people. (1) Hence St. Ambrose calls the sacred scripture *the sacerdotal book*, and the council of Cologne orders that it should "never be out of the hands of ecclesiastics." In fact, the Catholic clergy must and do employ no small portion of their time every day in

(1) Ward has successfully ridiculed this attempt in his *England's Reformation*, Canto II. (2) Trid. Sess. v. cap. 2. Sess. xiv. cap. 4.

reading different portions of holy writ. But no such obligation is generally incumbent on the flock, that is, on the laity: it is sufficient for them to hear the word of God, from those whom God has appointed to announce and to explain it to them, whether by sermons, or catechisms, or other good books, or in the tribunal of penance. Thus, it is not the bounden duty of all good subjects to read and study the laws of their country: it is sufficient for them to hear and to submit to the decisions of the judges and other legal officers pronouncing upon them; and, by the same rule, the latter would be inexcusable if they did not make the law and constitution their constant study in order to decide right. Still, however, the Catholic Church never did prohibit the reading of the scriptures to the laity: she only required, by way of preparation for this most difficult of all study, that they should have received so much education as would enable them to read the sacred books in their original languages, or in that ancient and venerable Latin version, the fidelity of which she guarantees to them; or in case they were desirous of reading it in a modern tongue, that they should be furnished with some attestation of their piety and docility, in order to prevent their turning this salutary food of souls into a deadly poison, as it is universally confessed so many thousands constantly have done. At present, however, the chief pastors have every where relaxed these disciplinary rules, and vulgar translations of the whole scripture are upon sale, and open to every one, in Italy itself, with the express approbation of the Roman pontiff. In these islands, we have an English version of the Bible, in folio, in quarto, and in octavo forms, against which our opponents have no other objection to make except that it is too literal, (1) that is, too faithful. But Dr. Porteus professes not to admit of any restriction whatever "on the reading of what heaven hath revealed, with respect to any part of mankind." No doubt, *the revealed truths themselves* are to be made known as much as possible to all mankind; but it does not follow from thence, that all mankind are to read the scriptures: there are passages in them which I am confident his lordship would not wish his daughters to peruse; and which, in fact, were prohibited to the Jews till they had attained the age of thirty. (2) Again, as lord Clarendon, Mr. Grey, Dr. Hey, &c. agree, that the misapplication of scripture was the cause of the destruction

(1) See the bishop of Lincoln's *Elements of Theol.* vol. ii. p. 16.

(2) St. Jerom. in *Proem* to *Ezech.* St. Greg. Naz. de *Moderat. Disp.*

of church and state, and of the murder of the king in the grand rebellion; and as he must be sensible, from his own observation, that the same cause exposed the nation to the same calamities in the Protestant riots of 1780, I am confident the bishop, as a Christian, no less than as a British subject, would have taken the bible out of the hands of Hugh Peters, Oliver Cromwell, lord George Gordon, and their respective crews, if this had been in his power. I will affirm the same of count Emanuel Swedenborg, the founder of the modern sect of New Jerusalemites, who taught that no one had understood the scriptures, till the sense of them was revealed to him; as also with respect to Joanna Southcote, foundress of a still more modern sect, and who, I believe, tormented the bishop himself with her rhapsodies, in order to persuade him that she was the woman of Genesis, destined to crush the *serpent's head*, and the woman of the Revelations, *clothed with the sun, and crowned with twelve stars*. Nay, I greatly deceive myself if the prelate would not be glad to take away every hot-brained dissenter's bible, who employs it in persuading the people, that the church of England is a rag of Popery, and a spawn of the whore of Babylon. In short, whatever Dr. Porteus may choose to say of an unrestricted perusal and interpretation of the scriptures, with respect to all sorts of persons, it is certain that many of the wisest and most learned divines of this church have lamented this, as one of her greatest misfortunes. I will quote the words of one of them. "Aristarchus of old, could hardly find seven wise men in all Greece, but amongst us it is difficult to find the same number of ignorant persons. They are all doctors and divinely inspired. There is not a fanatic or a mountebank, from the lowest class of the people, who does not vent his dreams for the word of God. The bottomless pit seems to be opened, and there come out of it locusts with stings; a swarm of sectaries and heretics, who have renewed all the heresies of former ages, and added to them numerous and monstrous errors of their own." (3)

Since the above was written, the *bibliomania*, or rage for the letter of the bible, has been carried, in this country, to the utmost possible length, by persons of almost every description, Christians and Infidels; Trinitarians, who worship God in three persons, and Unitarians, who hold such worship to be idolatrous; Pædobaptists, who believe they become Christians by baptism; Anabaptists, who plunge such Christians into

the water as mere Pagans; and Quakers, who ridicule all baptism, except that of their own imagination; Armenian Methodists, who believe themselves to have been justified without repentance; and Antinomian Methodists, who maintain that they shall be saved without keeping the laws either of God or man; churchmen, who glory in having preserved the whole orders and part of the missal and ritual of the Catholics; and the countless sects of dissenters who join in condemning these things as Antichristian Popery. All these have forgotten, for a long time, their characteristic tenets, and unite in enforcing the *reading of the bible*, as the only thing necessary! The bible societies are content that all these contending religionists should affix whatever meaning they please to the bible, provided only they read the text of the bible! Nay, they are satisfied if they can but get the Hindoo worshippers of Juggernaut, the Thibet adorers of the Grand Lama, and the Tahoo cannibals of the Pacific ocean, to do the same thing; vainly fancying that this lecture will reform the vicious, reclaim the erroneous, and convert the Pagans. In the mean time, the experience of fourteen years proves, that theft, forgery, robbery, murder, suicide, and other crimes go on increasing with the most alarming rapidity; that every sect clings to its original errors; and that not one Pagan is converted to Christianity, nor one Irish Catholic persuaded to exchange his faith for a bible book. When will these bible-enthusiasts comprehend, what learned and wise Christians of every age have known and taught, that *the word of God exists not in the letter of scripture, but in the meaning of it!* Hence it follows, that a Catholic child, who is grounded in his short but comprehensive *First Catechism*, so called, knows more of the revealed word of God than a Methodist preacher does, who has read the whole bible ten times over. The sentiments expressed above is not only that of St. Jerom (1) and other Catholic writers, but also of the learned Protestant bishop whom I have already quoted. He says: "The word of God does not consist in mere letters, but in the sense of it, which no one can better interpret than the true Church, in which Christ committed this sacred deposit." (2)

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

(1) 1st Ep. 1. ad Galat.

(2) Walton's Proleg.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

LETTER LXIV.—To JAMES BROWN, Jun. Esq.

DEAR SIR,—The subject of the vicar's letter that I am about to consider is,—*Prayers in an Unknown Tongue*. What! Latin an *unknown tongue*, which is taught in all the schools of Christendom, and understood, not only by every educated man, but also, in a sufficient degree, by the common people of Italy, Spain, France, and all those elsewhere who understand French? The vicar's controversial ally, Dr. Porteus, is guilty of still greater absurdity and falsehood on this subject, where, speaking of the use of Latin in the liturgy, he says of it: "There cannot be more cruel and wicked cunning, than to keep the poor people in this ignorance." In the mean time, both the bishop and the vicar are perfectly sensible, that it is not the Church which has appointed a language for her liturgy, which the people of certain countries do not understand, but the people of those countries who have forgotten the language of the Church. In a word, these captious disputants quarrel with the Latin church for using her own language! The English church, as I before observed, being a local and a novel church, acts quite consistently in using the English tongue in her service. And by the same rule, the Catholic or Universal Church acts right in retaining the ancient and general languages of the civilized world, Greek in the East, and Latin in the West. In the mean time, the latter is so from being actuated by any *cruel and wicked cunning to keep poor people in ignorance*, that she employs every means in her power, sermons, catechisms, prayer-books, &c. in the vulgar tongues, to supply the defect of those who do not understand hers. So groundless are the pretexts of those who, being separated from the centre of unity and their mother church, by the lawless passions of their predecessors, are reduced to seek for an excuse for continuing divided from it!

But, says the vicar, "St. Paul has expressly condemned the practice of praying in an unknown tongue." To this I have already answered, that Latin is not an unknown language, and, what is most to the purpose, that it is plain from the context of the quoted passage, 1 Cor. xiv. that the apostles do not there speak of the language of the liturgy but of the use made by different Christians of the gift of

tongues, which then was common to most of them. In fact, the vicar does not dwell on this trite and futile objection, but employs his force and ingenuity in trying to disengage himself from certain novel arguments which I brought in defence of the Catholic discipline, respecting the language of the liturgy. I observed, then, that St. Paul himself, whose authority against the Latin church, for using the Latin language in its liturgy, has been quoted from his first epistle to the Corinthians, nevertheless wrote a letter to the church of Rome, which still forms part of her liturgy, in the Greek tongue. The observation embarrasses the vicar greatly, and he can find no answer to it but in the gratuitous supposition that the church of Rome, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, was well acquainted with Greek! I observed, in the next place, that Christ frequented the synagogues in Judea and Galilee, in which the public service was then performed, not in the vulgar Syriac, but in the ancient Hebrew, which the Jews in common did not at that time understand, and that of course Christ, by his presence, sanctioned the practice. The vicar replies, that as our Saviour sometimes preached in the synagogues, he must have used the vulgar language. My answer is, that granting his assertion, while he is forced to allow mine, I clearly gain my point, which is, that Christ, during his mortal life, used to be present at and thereby sanctioned divine service in a language not generally understood. Finally, I observed that the modern Greeks, Egyptians, Abyssinians, and other Christian people retain their ancient languages in their respective liturgies down to the present time, though these are no longer intelligible to the common people. The vicar admits the fact; but, without attending to the inconveniences and evils which might result from a change in this particular, peremptorily pronounces it "absurd and inconvenient, and contrary to scripture." I pass over "the conjectures of Voisin," with Lightfoot's and Basnages' information on this subject, which answer no other purpose than to swell out the vicar's letter, in order to point out an important consequence resulting from the vicar's and the bishop of St. David's doctrine concerning it. There is no fact of history which the latter is so positive in, as that the Christian church of Britain was founded by St. Paul, and the vicar declares that "his lordship and Dr. Hales have quite set at rest the question respecting it." If this be true, the foundation in question must have taken place before the 12th year of Nero; or the year 65 of the Christian æra, the date of St. Paul's martyrdom, at which time, it is clear from history,

the Britons enjoyed their liberty, and, of course, their language, under their native prince, Arviragus. Now the bishop and the vicar are equally positive as to the indispensable necessity of a vernacular language in every Christian church: the former declaring that "it is a great error to offer up the prayers of the Church in a language not understood by the people, while the latter, as we have just witnessed, pronounces it *anti-scriptural*; the consequence is evident, St Paul must then have composed a Welsh common prayer-book, or other liturgy, which it belongs to the three above-mentioned antiquaries to discover, or, at all events, to account for its loss, and to shew by what means it was supplanted by the Roman missal and pontifical. The same requisition may be imposed on the vicar, in conjunction with Dr. Ledwich and Dr. Elrington, respecting the original Irish liturgy. To such straits are men reduced, who are bent on defending a bad cause!

The vicar's epistle on reading the scripture, in answer to my letter on the same subject, is evidently defective, confused, and contradictory. What he terms *a prohibition of the scriptures*, on the part of the Church, ought to be called *regulations for preserving the letter and sense of them pure and unchanged*. So far from proscribing the holy scriptures, the Church has composed almost the whole of her liturgy and divine offices from them; and so far from prohibiting the use of them, she requires her clergy, from the sub-deacon up to the pope himself, to employ no small portion of each recurring day in an attentive perusal of them. True it is, that the last general council, among the many decrees it made for enforcing the reading, the studying, and the preaching of the divine word, made some for restraining the license of editors and printers in publishing it without due authority, and that of readers against interpreting it contrary to the unanimous sense of the fathers: but this only proves the veneration of the Church for the sacred books themselves, and her solicitude that they should answer the purposes for which they were revealed. It is also true, that among the rules prefixed to the Roman Index of prohibited books, there is one respecting *vulgar translations of the bible*, in virtue of which a certificate of the good sense and good dispositions of the party desirous of using any of them, was required: nor is it surprising that such a regulation should have been made in the middle of the sixteenth century, considering the religious state of Europe at that period. But this rule was no prohibition of reading the scripture, even in a modern

translation, much less in the originals, or in the approved Vulgate translation. And this very rule, however reasonable in itself and necessary when it was framed, has now gone into disuse, and accordingly we see, in the several cities and towns of this kingdom, different editions of the English Catholic versions of the scriptures on sale, in folio, quarto, and octavo, which are purchased and read by every Catholic at his discretion, as you, sir, and every such Catholic are witnesses, to the disgrace of the vicar's bold assertions to the contrary. This is not the place to discuss the merit of the Catholic translation; but, I repeat it, when the bishop of Winchester can say nothing worse of it, than that "it contains many Eastern, Greek, and Latin words, so as to be unintelligible to common readers," which words the translators professedly retained, in order to keep as close to the originals as possible, it is a proof that this learned prelate has nothing to object against its fidelity, as Catholics are forced to do with respect to the common English bible, after all the corrections it underwent at the beginning of the first James's reign. Neither is this the place to say any thing of the notes accompanying the original Rheims testament (which subject the vicar again introduces in his most acrimonious style), as I have in a former letter answered his objections against it.

In justification of the regulations of the council of Trent, and of the conduct of the Church in general, in occasionally laying some restrictions on publishing and reading vulgar translations of the holy scriptures, I explained the difference there is between the relative duties of pastors and their flocks, it being the duty of the former to teach, and of the latter to hear the word of God; I pointed out the danger there is of placing before young and ignorant persons certain books and passages of scripture, as, for example, Solomon's Song, Abraham's entry into Egypt, and Jacob's obtaining Esau's birthright, without an explanation, either verbal or written; I proved from lord Clarendon's History and Grey's Examination, that the horrors and follies of the grand rebellion were, in a great measure, owing to the unrestrained reading of the scriptures by ignorant or ill-disposed persons, and I traced the mad enthusiasm and impieties of Swedenborg and Joanna Southcote, in our own days, to the same source. All these important considerations the vicar passes by, as unworthy of notice, but continues to rail against the above-mentioned council, pope Pius IV. pope Pius VII. the Catholic bishops of Ireland, and the present writer, as concurring in their respective ways, to make the scriptures

a dead letter to the lower orders of Irish Catholics," and preventing "the progress of religious knowledge among them." And yet, after all this declamation against restrictions on the bible of every kind, the vicar himself turns out to be an advocate for some such restrictions. In the first place, he calls for a dissolution of what he calls "the unnatural connexion and heterogeneous mixture of churchmen and dissenters (among whom he includes the evangelical clergy) in the bible societies." This connexion he represents as "tending to produce apathy about the vital doctrines of Christianity; on which point he is at open war with the bishop of St. David's. In the second place, he insists on it, that "a prayer-book (the common prayer-book) should accompany the bible, as a safeguard against the delusions of Calvinistic interpretations. This is the very thing with which he reproaches the Catholic bishops, namely, that they will not consent to distribute the scriptures without notes, *as a safeguard against the delusions of Protestant interpretation*, with this difference, however, that the Catholic bishops speak in conformity with their principles, while the vicar speaks in opposition to his. Lastly, he concurs with bishop Mant in "recommending a diligent but *judicious distribution of the bible*, accompanied with the book of common-prayer, while he *disapproves of a boundless circulation of it*, without regard to circumstances." I am, sir, your's &c. JOHN MILNER.

ON VARIOUS MISREPRESENTATIONS.

LETTER LXV.—To JAMES BROWN, Jun. Esq.

DEAR SIR,—THE learned prelate, who is celebrated for having concentrated the five sermons of his patr  n, archbishop Secker, and the more diffusive declamation of primate Tillotson against Popery, having gone through his regular charges on this topic, tries, in the end, to overwhelm the Catholic cause with an accumulation of petty, or, at least, secondary objections, in a chapter which he entitles: *Various Corruptions and Superstitions of the Church of Rome*. The first of these is, that Catholics "equal the apocryphal with the canonical books" of scripture: to which I answer, that the same authority, namely, the authority of the Catholic Church, in the fifth century, which decided on the canonical character of the epistle to the Hebrews, the *Revelation*, and

calumny of our *not keeping faith with heretics*. (1) In refutation of this, I might appeal to the doctrine of our theologians, (2) and to the oaths of the British Catholics; but I choose rather to appeal to historical facts, and to the practical lessons of the leading men by whom these have been conducted. I have mentioned, that when the Catholic queen Mary came to the throne, a Protestant usurper, lady Jane, was set up against her, and that the bishops Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Poynt, Sandys, and every other Protestant of any note, broke their allegiance and engagements to her for no other reason than because she was a Catholic, and the usurper a Protestant. On the other hand, when Mary was succeeded by her Protestant sister Elizabeth, though the Catholics were then far more numerous and powerful than the Protestants, not a hand was raised, nor a seditious sermon preached against her. In the mean time, on the other side of the Tweed, where the new gospellers had deposed their sovereign, and usurped her power, their apostle Knox publicly preached, that "neither promise nor oath can oblige any man to obey or give assistance to tyrants against God;" (3) to which lesson his colleague Goodman added: "If governors fall from God, to the gallows with them." (4) A third fellow-labourer in the same gospel cause, Buchanan, maintained, that "princes may be deposed by their people, if they be tyrants against God and his truth, and that their subjects are free from their oaths and obedience." (5) The same, in substance, were the maxims of Calvin, Beza, and the Hugonots of France in general: the temporal interest of their religion was the ruling principle of their morality. But, to return to our own country: the enemies of church and state having hunted down the earl of Strafford, and procured him to be attainted of high treason, the king, Charles I. declared,

(1) In the Protestant Charter-school Catechism, which is taught by authority, the following question and answer occur, p. 9. "Q. How do Papists treat those whom they call heretics? A. They hold that faith is not to be kept with heretics; and that the pope can absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance to their sovereigns." (2) See in particular the Jesuit Becanus *De Fide Hæreticis prestanda*. (3) In his book addressed to the nobles and people of Scotland. (4) *De Obedientia*. (5) *History of Scotland*. The same was the express doctrine of the Geneva bible, translated by Coverdale, Goodman, &c. in that city, and in common use among the English Protestants, till king James's reign: for in a note on ver. 12 of 2d Matt. these translators expressly say, "A promise ought not to be kept, where God's honour and *preaching of his truth* is injured." Hist. Account of Eng. Translations, by A. Johnson, in Watson's Collect. vol. iii. p. 93.

that he *could not, in conscience, concur to his death*; where the case being referred to the archbishops Usher and Williams, they decided (in spite of his majesty's conscience, and his oath to administer justice with mercy), that he might *in conscience* send this *innocent peer to the block*, which he did accordingly. (1) I should like to ask bishop Porteus, whether this decision of his predecessors was not *the dispensation of an oath*, and the *annulling of the most sacred of all obligations*? In like manner, most of the leading men of the nation, with most of the clergy, having sworn to the *solemn league and covenant*, "for the more effectual extirpation of Popery," they were *dispensed with* from the keeping of it by an express clause in that Act of Uniformity. (2) But whereas by a clause of the oath in the same act, all subjects of the realm, down to the constable and schoolmaster, were obliged to swear, that "it is not lawful, upon *any pretence whatsoever*, to take up arms against the king;" this oath, in its turn, was universally dispensed with, in the churches and in parliament, at the Revolution. I have mentioned these few facts and maxims, concerning Protestant dispensations of oaths and engagements, in case any of your society may object that some popes have been too free in pronouncing such dispensations. Should this have been the case, they alone, personally, and not the Catholic Church, were accountable for it both to God and man.

I have often wondered, in a particular manner, at the confidence with which bishop Porteus asserts and denies facts of ancient church history, in opposition to the known truth. An instance of this occurs in the conclusion of the chapter before me, where he says; "The primitive church did not attempt, for several hundreds of years, to make any doctrine necessary which we do not, as the learned well know from their writings." (3) The falsehood of this position must strike you, on looking back on the authorities adduced by me from the ancient fathers and historians, in proof of the several points of controversy which I have maintained: but, to render it still more glaring, I will recur to the histories of AERIUS and VIGILANTIUS, two different heretics of the fourth century. Both St. Epiphanius, (4) and St. Augustin, (5) rank Acrius

(1) Collier's Church History, vol. ii. p. 501. On the other hand, when several of the parliament's soldiers, who had been taken prisoners at Brentford, had sworn never again to bear arms against the king, they were "absolved from that oath," says Clarendon, "by their divines." Exam. of Neale's Hist. by Grey, vol. iii. p. 19. (2) Statute 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 4. (3) P. 73. (4) Hæresis, 75. (5) De Hæres. tom. vi. Ed. Frob.

among the heresiarchs, or founders of heresy, and both give exactly the same account of his three characteristic errors; the first of which is avowed by all Protestants, namely, that "prayers and sacrifices are not to be offered up for the dead;" and the two others by most of them; namely, that "there is no obligation of observing the appointed days of fasting, and that priests ought not to be distinguished in any respect from bishops." (1) So far were the primitive Christians from tolerating these heresies, that the supporters of them were denied the use of a place of worship, and were forced to perform it in forests and caverns. (2) Vigilantius likewise condemned prayers for the dead, but he equally reprobated prayers to the saints, the honouring of their relics, and the celibacy of the clergy, together with vows of continence in general. Against these errors, which I need not tell you Dr. Porteus now patronizes, as Vigilantius formerly did. St. Jerom directs all the thunder of his eloquence, declaring them to be *sacrilegious*, and the author of them to be a *detestable heretic*. (3) The learned Fleury observes, that the impious novelties of this heretic made no proselytes, and therefore that there was no need of a council to condemn them. (4) Finally, to convince yourself, dear sir, how far the ancient fathers were from tolerating different communions or religious tenets in the Catholic Church, conformably to the prelate's monstrous system of a Catholic Church composed of all the discordant and disunited sects in Christendom, be pleased to consult again the passages which I have collected from the works of the former, in my fourteenth letter to your society; or, what is still more demonstrative on this point, observe, in ecclesiastical history, how the Quartodecimans, the Novatians, (5) the Donatists, and the Luciferians, though their respective errors are mere mole-hills, compared with the mountains which separate the Protestant communion from ours, were held forth as heretics by the fathers, and treated as such by the Church in her councils.

I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

(1) De Hæres. tom. vi. Ed. Frob. St. John Damascen and St. Isidore equally condemn these tenets as heretical. (2) Fleury's Hist. ad An. 392. (3) Epist. 1 and 2, adversus Vigilant. (4) Ad An. 405. (5) St. Cyprian being consulted about the nature of Novatian's errors, answers: "there is no need of a strict inquiry *what errors* he teaches while he *teaches out of the Church*." He elsewhere writes: "The Church being one, cannot be at the same time within and without. If she be with Novatian, she is not with (pope) Cornelius; if she be with Cornelius, Novatian not in her." Epist. 76 ad Mag.

ON RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

LETTER LXVI.—To JAMES BROWN, Jun. Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I promised to treat the subject of religious persecution apart; a subject of the utmost importance in itself, and which is spoken of by the bishop of London in the following terms: "They, the Romish church, zealously maintain their claim of punishing whom they please to call heretics, with penalties, imprisonment, tortures, and death." (1) Another writer, whom I have quoted above, says, that this church "breathes the very spirit of cruelty and murder;" (2) indeed most Protestant controvertists seem to vie with each other in the vehemence and bitterness of the terms, by which they endeavour to affix this most odious charge of cruelty and murder on the Catholic Church. This is the favourite topic of preachers, to excite the hatred of their hearers against their fellow-Christians: this is the last resource of baffled hypocrites. *If you admit the Papists, they cry, to equal rights, these wretches must and will certainly murder you, as soon as they can: the fourth Lateran council has established the principle, and the bloody queen Mary has acted upon it.*

I. To proceed regularly on this matter: I begin with expressly denying the bishop of London's charge; namely, that the Catholic Church "*maintains a claim of punishing heretics with penalties, imprisonment, tortures, and death;*" and I assert, on the contrary, that she *disclaims the power* of so doing. Pope Leo the great, who flourished in the fourth century, writing about the Manichean heretics, who, as he asserted, laid modesty aside, prohibiting the matrimonial connexion, and subverting all law, human and divine," says, that "the ecclesiastical lenity was content, even in this case, with the sacerdotal judgment, and avoided all sanguinary punishments," (3) however the secular emperors might inflict them for reasons of state. In the same century, two Spanish bishops, Ithacius and Idacius, having interfered in the capital punishment of certain Priscillian heretics, both St. Ambrose and St. Martin refused to hold communion with them, even to gratify an emperor, whose clemency they were soliciting in

(1) Confut. p. 71.
(3) Epist. ad Turib.

(2) De Coetlogon's Seasonable Caution, p. 15

behalf of certain clients. Long before their time, Tertullian had taught that "*it does not belong to religion to enforce religion;*" (1) and a considerable time after, when St. Augustin and his companions, the envoys of pope Gregory the great, had converted our king Ethelbert to the Christian faith, they particularly inculcated to him not to use forcible means to induce any of his subjects to follow his example. (2) But what need of more authorities on this head, since our canon law, as it stood in ancient times, and as it still stands, rendered all those who have actively concurred to the death or mutilation of any human being, whether Catholic or Heretic, Jew or Pagan, even in a just war, or by exercising the art of surgery, or by judicial proceedings, *irregular*; that is to say, such persons cannot be promoted to holy orders, or exercise those orders, if they have actually received them. Nay, when an ecclesiastical judge or tribunal has, after due examination, pronounced that any person accused of obstinate heresy is actually guilty of it, he is required by the Church expressly to declare in her name, that her power extends no further than such decision; and in case the obstinate heretic is liable, by the laws of the state, to suffer death or mutilation, the judge is required to pray for his pardon. Even the council of Constance, in condemning John Huss of heresy, declared that its power extended no further. (3)

II. But, whereas many heresies are subversive of the established governments, the public peace, and natural morality, it does not belong to the Church to *prevent* princes and states from exercising their just authority in repressing and punishing them, when this is judged to be the case; nor would any clergyman incur irregularity by exhorting princes and magistrates to provide for those important objects, and the safety of the Church itself, by repressing its disturbers, provided he did not concur to the death or mutilation of any particular disturber. Thus it appears that, though they have been persecuting laws in many Catholic states, the Church itself, so far from *claiming*, actually *disclaims the power of persecuting*.

III. But Dr. Porteus signifies, (4) that the Church itself has claimed this power in the third canon of the fourth Lateran council, A.D. 1215, by the tenour of which, temporal lords and magistrates were required to exterminate all heretics from their respective territories, under pain of these being

(1) Ad Scapul. (2) Bed. Ecc. Hist. l. i. c. 26. (3) Sess. xv.
See Labbe's Concil. t. xii. p. 129. (4) Conf. p. 47.

confiscated to their sovereign prince, if they were laymen, and to their several churches, in case they were clergymen. From this canon, it has been a hundred times over argued against Catholics of late years, not only that their Church claims a right to *exterminate heretics*, but also requires those of her communion to aid and assist in this work of destruction at all times and in all places. But it must first be observed *who were present* at this council, and by *whose authority* these decrees of a temporal nature were passed. There were then present, besides the pope and the bishops, either in person or by their ambassadors, the Greek and the Latin emperors; the kings of England, France, Hungary, the Sicilies, Arragon, Cyprus, and Jerusalem; and the representatives of a vast many other principalities and states: so that, in fact, this council was a congress of Christendom, temporal as well as spiritual. We must, in the next place, remark the *principal business* which drew them together. It was the *common cause of Christianity and human nature*, namely, the extirpation of the Manichean heresy; which taught that there were two first principles or deities; one of them the creator of devils, of animal flesh, of wine, of the old testament, &c.; the other the author of good spirits and the new testament, &c.; that unnatural lusts were lawful, but not the propagation of the human species; that perjury was permitted to them, &c. (1) This detestable heresy, which had caused so much wickedness and bloodshed in the preceding centuries, broke out with fresh fury in the twelfth century throughout different parts of Europe, more particularly in the neighbourhood of Albi, in Languedoc, where they were supported by the powerful counts of Thoulouse, Comminges, Foix, and other feudatory princes, as also by numerous bodies of banditti, called Rotarii, whom they hired for this purpose. Thus strengthened, they set their sovereigns at defiance, carrying fire and sword through their dominions murdering their subjects, particularly the clergy, burning the churches and monasteries; in short, waging open war with them, and at the same time with Christianity, morality, and human nature itself: casting the bibles into the jakes, profaning the altar-plate, and practising their detestable rites for the extinction of the human species. It was to put an end to these horrors that the great Lateran council was held in

(1) See the Protestant historian Mosheim's account of the shocking violation of decency and other crimes, of which the Albigenses, Brethren of the Free Spirit, &c. were guilty in the 13th century. Vol. iii. p. 284.

the year 1215, when the heresy itself was condemned by the proper authority of the Church, and the lands of the feudatory lords who protected it were declared to be forfeited to the sovereign princes, of whom they were held by *an authority derived from those sovereign princes*. The decree of the council regarded only the *prevailing heretics of that time*; who, "though wearing different faces," being indifferently called Albigenses, Cathari, Poplicolæ, Paterini, Bulgari, Bogomillii, Beguini, Beguardi, and Brethren of the Free Spirit, &c were "all tied together by the tails," as the council expresses it. like Sampson's foxes, in the same band of Manicheism. (1) Nor was this exterminating canon ever put in force against any other heretics except the Albigenses; nor even against them except in the case of the above-named counts. It was never so much as published or talked of in these islands: so little have Protestants to fear from their Catholic fellow-subjects, by reason of the third canon of the council of Lateran. (2)

IV. But they are chiefly the Smithfield fires of queen Mary's reign which furnish matter for the inexhaustible declamation of Protestant controvertists, and the unconquerable prejudices of the Protestant populace against the Catholic religion, as breathing "the very spirit of cruelty and murder," according to the expression of one of the above-quoted orators. Nevertheless, I have unanswerably demonstrated elsewhere, (3) that, "if queen Mary was a persecutor, it was not in virtue of the tenets of her religion that she persecuted." I observed, that almost during two years of her reign, no Protestant was molested on account of his religion; that in the instructions which the pope sent her for her conduct on the throne, there is not a word to recommend persecution; nor is there in the synod, which the pope's legate, cardinal Pole, held at that time, one word, as Burnet remarks, in favour of persecuting. This representative of his holiness even opposed the persecution project with all his influence, as did king Philip's chaplain also, who even

(1) For a succinct yet clear account of Manicheism, see Bossuet's *Variations*, book xi.; also, for additional circumstances relating to it, see *Letters to a Prebendary*. Letter IV. (2) For an account of the rebellions and antisocial doctrine and practices of the Wickliffites and Hussites, see the last-quoted work, Letter IV.; also *History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 296.

(3) *Letters to a Prebendary*, Letter IV. on Persecution; also *History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 354, &c. See in the former, proofs of the infidelity of the famous martyrologist, John Fox, and of the great abatements which are to be made in his account of the Protestant sufferers.

preached against it, and defied the advocates of it to produce an authority from scripture in its favour. In a word, we have the arguments made use of in the queen's council by those advocates of persecution, Gardiner, Bonner, &c. by whose advice it was adopted; yet none of them pretended that the doctrine of the Catholic Church required such a measure. On the contrary, all their arguments are grounded on motives of state policy. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the first Protestants in this as in other countries, were possessed of and actuated by a spirit of violence and rebellion. Lady Jane was set up and supported in opposition to the daughters of king Henry by all the chief men of the party, both churchmen and laymen, as I have already observed. Mary had hardly forgiven this rebellion when a fresh one was raised against her by the duke of Suffolk, sir Thomas Wyat, and all the leading Protestants. In the mean time, her life was attempted by some of them, and her death was publicly prayed for by others; while Knox and Goodman, on the other side of the Tweed, were publishing books *against the monstrous Regimen of Women*, and exciting the people of this country, as well as their own, to *put their Jezabel to death*. Still, I grant, persecution was not the way to diminish either the number or the violence of the enthusiastic insurgents. With toleration and prudence on the part of the government, the paroxysm of the governed would quickly have subsided.

V. Finally; whatever may be said of the intolerance of Mary, I trust that this charge will not be brought against the next Catholic sovereign, James II. I have elsewhere (1) shewn, that, when duke of York, he used his best endeavours to get the act *De Heretico Comburendo* repealed, and to afford an asylum to the Protestant exiles, who flocked to England from France on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and, in short, that when king, he lost his crown in the cause of toleration: *his Declaration of Liberty of Conscience* having been the determining cause of his deposition. But what need of words to disprove the odious calumny, that Catholics "breathe the spirit of cruelty and murder," and are obliged by their religion to be persecutors, when every one of our gentry, who has made the tour of France, Italy, and Germany, has experienced the contrary; and has been as cordially received by the pope himself, in his metropolis of Rome, where he is both prince and bishop, in the character of

(1) History of Winchester, vol. i. p. 437. Letters to a Prebendary.

an English Protestant, as if he was known to be the most zealous Catholic! Still, I fear, there are some individuals in your society, as there are many other Protestants of my acquaintance elsewhere, who cling fast to this charge against Catholics of persecution, as the last resource for their own intolerance; and it being true that Catholics have, in some times and places, unsheathed the sword against the heterodox, these persons insist upon it, that it is an essential part of the Catholic religion to persecute. On the other hand, many Protestants, either from ignorance or policy, now a days, claim for themselves exclusively the credit of toleration. As an instance of this, the bishop of Lincoln writes: "I consider toleration as a mark of the true Church, and as a principle, recommended by the most eminent of our reformers and divines" (1) In these circumstances, I know but of one argument to stop the mouths of such disputants, which is to prove to them that persecution has not only been more generally practised by Protestants than by Catholics, but also, that it has been more warmly defended and supported by the most eminent "reformers and divines" of *their* party, than by their opponents.

1. The learned Bergier defies Protestants to mention so much as a town, in which their predecessors, on becoming masters of it, tolerated a single Catholic. (2) Rousseau, who was educated a Protestant, says, that "the Reformation was intolerant from its cradle, and its authors "universally persecutors." (3) Bayle, who was a Calvinist, has published much the same thing. In fine, the Huguenot minister, Jurieu, acknowledges, "that Geneva, Switzerland, the republics, the electors and princes of the empire, England, Scotland, Sweden, and Denmark, had all employed the power of the state to abolish Popery, and establish the Reformation." (4) But to proceed to other more positive proofs of what has been said: "the first father of Protestantism, finding his new religion, which he had submitted to the pope, condemned by him, immediately sounded the trumpet of persecution and murder against the pontiff, and all his supporters, in the following terms: "If we send thieves to the gallows, and robbers to the block, why do we not fall on those masters of perdition, the popes, cardinals, and bishops, with all our force, and not give over till we have bathed our hands in

(1) Charge in 1812. (2) *Trait. Hist. et Dogmat.* (3) *Lettres de la Mont.* (4) *Tab. Lett. quoted by Bossuet, Avertissement, p. 625.*

their blood?" (1) He elsewhere calls the pope, "a mad wolf, against whom every one ought to take arms, without waiting for an order from the magistrate." He adds, "if you fall before the beast has received its mortal wound, you will have but one thing to be sorry for, that you did not bury your dagger in his breast. All that defend him must be treated like a band of robbers, be they kings or be they Cæsars." (2) By these and similar incentives, with which the works of Luther abound, he not only excited the Lutherans themselves to propagate their religion by fire and sword, against the emperor and other Catholic princes, but also gave occasion to all the sanguinary and frantic scenes which the Anabaptists exhibited, at the same time, through the lower parts of Germany. Coeval with these was the civil war, which another arch-reformer, Zuinglius, lighted up in Switzerland, by way of propagating his peculiar system, and the persecution which he raised equally against the Catholics and the Anabaptists. Even the moderate Melancthon wrote a book in defence of religious persecution, (3) and the conciliatory Bucer, who became professor of divinity at Cambridge, not satisfied with the burning of Servetus, preached that "his bowels ought to have been torn out, and his body chopped to pieces." (4)

II. But the great champion of persecution every one knows was the founder of the second great branch of Protestantism, John Calvin. Not content with burning Servetus, beheading Gruet, and persecuting other distinguished Protestants, Castilio, Bolsec, and Gentilis (who being apprehended in the neighbouring canton of Berne, was put to death there), he set up a consistorial inquisition at Geneva, for forcing every one to conform to his opinions, and required that the magistrates should punish whomsoever this consistory condemned. He was succeeded in his spirit, as well as in his office, by Beza, who wrote a folio work in defence of persecution. (5) In this he shews, that Luther, Melancthon, Bullinger, Capito, no less than Calvin, had written works expressly in defence of this principle, which, accordingly, was firmly established in France. Bossuet refers to the public records of Nismes, Montpellier, and other places, in proof of the directions issued by the Calvinist consistories to their generals, for "forcing the Papists to embrace the reformation by taxes, quartering of soldiers

(1) *Ad Silvest. Perair.* (2) *Theses apud Sleid. A. D. 1545. Opera Luth. tom. i.* (3) *Reza, De Hæret. puniend.* (4) *Ger. Brandt. Hist. Aberg. Refor. Pais bas, vol. i. p. 454.* (5) *De Hæreticis puniendis a Civili Magistratu, &c a Theod. Beza.*

upon them, demolishing their houses, &c." and, he says, "the well into which the Catholics were flung, and the instruments of torture which were used at the first-mentioned city, to force them to attend the Protestant sermons, are things of public notoriety." (1) In fact, who has not read of the infamous baron Des Adrets, whose savage sport it was, to torture and murder Catholics in a Catholic kingdom, and who forced his son literally to wash his hands in their blood? Who has not heard of the inhuman Jane, queen of Navarre, who massacred priests and religious persons by hundreds, merely on account of their sacred character? In short, Catholic France, throughout its extent, and during a great number of years, was a scene of desolation and slaughter, from the unrelenting persecution of its Huguenot subjects. Nor was the spectacle dissimilar in the Low Countries, when Calvinism got a footing in them. Their first synod, held in 1574, equally proscribed the Catholics and the Anabaptists, calling upon the magistrates to support their decrees, (2) which decrees were renewed in several subsequent synods. I have elsewhere quoted a late Protestant writer, who, on the authority of existing public records, describes the horrible torments with which Vandermerk and Sonoi, two generals of the prince of Orange, put to death incredible numbers of Dutch Catholics. (3) Other writers furnish more ample details of the same kind. (4) But while the Calvinists ministers continued to stimulate their magistrates to redoubled severities against the Catholics (for which purpose, among other means they translated into Dutch, and published the above-mentioned work of Beza) a new object of their persecution arose in the bosom of their own society: Arminius, Vossius, Episcopius, and some other divines, supported by the illustrious statesmen, Barneveldt and Grotius, declared against the more rigorous of Calvin's maxims. They would not admit that God decrees men to be wicked, and then punishes them everlastingly for what they cannot help; nor that many persons are in his actual grace and favour, while they are immersed in the most enormous crimes. For denying this, Barneveldt was beheaded, (5) Grotius was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and all the remonstrant clergy, as they were called, were banished from their families and their country,

(1) Variat. l. x. m. 52. (2) Bandt, vol. i. p. 227. (3) Letters &c. x. Frend. (4) See the learned Estius's History of the Martyrs of Gorcum; De Brandt, &c. (5) Diodati, quoted by Brandt, says that the canon of Dort carried off the head of Barneveldt.

sith circumstances of the greatest cruelty, at the requisition of the synod of Dort. In speaking of Lutheranism, I have passed by many persecuting decrees and practices of its adherents against Calvinists and Zuinglians, and many more of Calvinists against Lutherans: while both parties agreed in shewing no mercy to the Anabaptists. Before I quit the continent, I must mention the Lutheran kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, in both which, as Jurieu has signified above, the Catholic religion was extirpated and Protestantism established by means of rigorous persecuting laws, which denounced the punishment of death against the former. Professor Messenius, who wrote about the year 1600, mentions four Catholics who had recently been put to death in Sweden, on account of their religion, and eight others who had been imprisoned and tortured on that account, of whom he himself was one. (1)

III. To pass over now to the northern part of our own island: the first reformers of Scotland, having deliberately murdered cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, (2) and riotously destroyed the churches, monasteries, and every thing else which they termed monuments of Popery, assembled in a tumultuous and illegal manner, and before even their own religion was established by law, they condemned the Catholics to capital punishment for the exercise of theirs: "such strangers," says Robertson, "were men, at that time, to the spirit of toleration and the laws of humanity!" (3) Their chief apostle was John Knox, an apostate friar, who, in all his publications and sermons, maintained, that "it is not birth, but God's election, which confers a right to the throne and to magistracy;" that "no promise or oath, made to an enemy of the truth, that is, to a Catholic, is binding;" and that "every such enemy, in a high station, is to be deposed." (4) Not content with threatening to depose her, he told his queen, to her face, that the Protestants had a right to take the sword of justice into their hands, and to punish her, as Samuel slew Agag, and as Elias slew Jezabel's prophets." (5) Conformably with this doctrine, he wrote into England, that "the nobility and people were bound in conscience not only to withstand the proceedings of that Jezabel, Mary, whom they call queen, but also to put her to death,

(1) *Scandia Illustrat.* quoted by Le Brun. *Mess. Explic.* t. iv. p. 140.
 (2) *Gilb. Stuart's Hist. Ref. in Scot.* vol. i. p. 47, &c. (3) *Hist. of Scotland.* An. 1560. (4) See *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 442.
 (5) *Stuart's Hist.* vol. i. p. 54.

and all her priests with her." (1) His fellow apostles, Goodman, Willox, Buchanan, Rough, Black, &c. constantly inculcated to the people the same seditious and persecuting doctrine; and the Presbyterian ministers in general earnestly pressed for the execution of their innocent queen, who was accused of a murder perpetrated by their own Protestant leaders. (2) The same unrelenting intolerance was seen among "the most moderate of their clergy, when they were assembled by order of king James and his council to inquire whether the Catholic earls of Huntly, Ferrol, and their followers, on making a proper concession, might not be admitted into the church, and be exempt from further punishment?" These ministers then answered, that "though the gates of mercy are always open for those who repent,, yet, as those noblemen had been guilty of idolatry, (the Catholic religion) a crime deserving death by the laws of God and man, the civil magistrate could not legally pardon them, and that, though the church should absolve them, it was his duty to inflict punishment upon them." (3) But we need not be surprised at any severity of the Presbyterians against Catholics; when among other penances, ordained by public authority, against their own members who should break the fast of Lent, *whipping in the church was one.* (4)

IV. The father of the church of England, under the authority of the protector Seymour, duke of Somerset, was confessedly Thomas Cranmer, whom Henry VIII. raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury; of whom it is difficult to say, whether his obsequiousness to the passions of his successive masters, Henry, Seymour, and Dudley, or his barbarity to the sectaries who were in his power, was the more odious. There is this circumstance, which distinguishes him from almost every other persecutor, that he actively promoted the capital punishment, not only of those who differed from him in religion, but also of those who agreed with him in it. It is admitted by his advocates, (5) that he was instrumental, during the reign of Henry, in bringing to the stake the Protestants, Lambert, Askew, Frith, and Allen; besides condemning a great many others to it, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, which he disbelieved himself; (6) and it is equally certain, that during the reign of the child

(1) Cited by Dr. Paterson, in his *Jerus. and Babel*: (2) *Stuart's Hist.* vol. i. p. 255. (3) *Robertson's Hist. Ann.* 1596. (4) *Stuart*, vol. ii. p. 94. (5) *Fox, Acts and Monum.* Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. v. (6) See *Letters to a Prebendary*.

Edward, he continued to convict Arian and Anabaptists capitally, and to press for their execution. Two of these, Joan Knell, and John Van Par, he got actually burnt; preventing the young king Edward from pardoning them, by telling him, that "princes being God's deputies, ought to punish impieties against him." (1) The two next most eminent fathers of the English church were, unquestionably, bishop Ridley and bishop Latimer, both of them noted persecutors of Protestants to the extremity of death, no less than of Anabaptists and other sectaries! (2)

Upon the second establishment of the Protestant religion in England, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, it was again buttressed up here, as in every other country where it prevailed, by the most persecuting laws. I have elsewhere shewn, from authentic sources, that above 200 Catholics were hanged, drawn, and quartered during her reign for the mere profession or exercise of the religion of their ancestors for almost 1000 years. Of this number 15 were condemned for denying the queen's spiritual supremacy, 126 for the exercise of their priestly functions, and the rest for being reconciled to the Catholic Church, for hearing mass, or aiding and abetting Catholic priests. (3) When to these horrible scenes are added those of many hundred other Catholics, who perished in dungeons, who were driven into exile, or who were stripped of their property, it will appear that the persecution of Elizabeth's reign was far more grievous than that of her sister Mary; especially when the proper deductions are made from the sufferers under the latter. (4) Nor was persecution confined to the Catholics; for, when great numbers of foreign Anabaptists and other sectaries had fled into England from the fires and gibbets of their Protestant brethren in Holland, they found their situation much worse here, as they complained, than it had been in their own country. To silence these complaints, the bishop of London, Edwin Sandys, published a book in vindication of religious persecution. (5) In short, the Protestant church and state concurred

(1) Burnet's Church Hist. p. ii. b. 1. (2) See the proofs of these facts collected from Fox, Burnet, Heylin, and Collier, in Letters to a Preb. Letter v. (3) Certain opponents of mine have publicly objected to me, that these Catholics suffered for *high treason*. True; the laws of persecution declared so: but their only treason consisted in *their religion*. Thus the apostles, and other Christian martyrs, were traitors in the eye of the Pagan law; and the chief priests declared, with respect to Christ himself, *we have a law, and according to that he ought to die*. (4) See Letters to a Prebendary. (5) Ger. Brandt Hist. Reform. Abreg. vol. i. p. 234.

to their extirpation. An assembly of them, to the number of 27, having been seized upon in 1575, some of them were so intimidated as to recant their opinions, some were scourged, two of them, Peterson and Terwort, were burnt to death in Smithfield, and the rest banished. (1) Besides these foreigners, the English Dissenters were also grievously persecuted. Several of them, such as Thacker, Copping, Greenwood, Barrow, Penry, &c. were put to death, which rigours they ascribed principally to the bishops, particularly to Parker, Aylmer, Sandys, and Whitgift. (2) The last-named they accused of being the chief author of the famous inquisitorial court called the Star Chamber, which court, in addition to all its other vexations and severities, employed the rack and torture to extort confession. (3) The doctrines and practice of persecution in England did not end with the race of Tudor. James I. though he was reproached with being favourable to the Catholics, nevertheless signed warrants for 25 of them to be hanged and quartered, and sent 128 of them into banishment, barely on account of their religion; besides exacting the fine of 20*l.* per month from those who did not attend the church-service. Still he was repeatedly called upon by parliament to put the penal laws in force with greater rigour; in order, say they, "to advance the glory of Almighty God, and the everlasting honour of your majesty;" (4) and he was warned by archbishop Abbot against tolerating Catholics in the following terms: "Your majesty hath propounded a toleration of religion. By your act you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon; and thereby draw down upon the kingdom and yourself God's heavy wrath and indignation." (5) In the mean time, the Puritans complained loudly of the persecution, which they endured from the court of High Commission, and particularly from archbishop Bancroft, and the bishops Neale of Lichfield, and King of London. They charged the former of these with not only condemning Edward Wrightman for his opinions, but also with getting the king's warrant for his execution, who was accordingly burnt at Litchfield; and the latter with treating in the same way Bartholomew Legat, who was consumed in Smithfield. (6) The same unrelenting spirit of persecution which had dis-

(1) Brandt. vol. i. p. 234. Hist. of Churches of Eng. and Scotl. vol. ii. p. 199. (2) Ibid. (3) Mosheim. vol. iv. p. 40. (4) Rushworth's Collect. vol. i. p. 144. (5) Ibid. (6) Chandler's Introduction to Lamborche's Hist of Inquis. p. 80. Neal's Hist. of Purit. vol. ii.

graced the addresses presented to James, prevailed in those of parliament and of many bishops to his son Charles. One of these, signed by the renowned archbishop Usher, and eleven other Irish bishops of the establishment, declares, that "to give toleration to Papists is to become necessary to superstition, idolatry, and the perdition of souls; and that, therefore, it is *a grievous sin*." (1) At length the Presbyterians and Independents, getting the upper hand, had an opportunity of giving full scope to their characteristic intolerance. Their divines, being assembled at Sion college, condemned as an error the doctrine of toleration, "under the abused term," as they expressed it, "of liberty of conscience." (2) Conformably with this doctrine, they procured from their parliament a number of persecuting acts, from lining up to those of capital punishment. The objects of them were not only Catholics, but also Church-of-England-men, (3) Quakers, Seekers, and Arians. In the mean time, they frequently appointed national fasts *to atone for their pretended guilt in being too tolerant*. (4) Warrants for the execution of four English Catholics were extorted from the king, while he was in power, and near twenty others were publicly executed under the parliament and the protector. This hypocritical tyrant afterwards invading Ireland, and being bent on exterminating the Catholic population there, persuaded his soldiers that they had a divine commission for this purpose, as the Israelites had to exterminate the Canaanites. (5) To make an end of the clergy, he put the same price upon a priest's as upon a wolf's head. (6) Those Puritans who, previously to the civil war, had sailed to North America to avoid persecution, set up a far more cruel one there, particularly against the Quakers; whipping them, cropping their ears, boring their tongues with a hot iron, and hanging them. We have the names of four of these sufferers, one of them a woman, who were executed at Boston. (7)

IV. During the whole of the war which the Puritans waged against the king and constitution, the Catholics behaved with unparelled loyalty. It has been demonstrated, (8) that three-fifths of the noblemen and gentlemen who lost their lives on the side of royalty were Catholics, and that more than half of the landed property confiscated by the rebels be-

(1) Leland's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 482. Neal's Hist. vol. ii. p. 469.
 (2) Hist. of Churches of Eng. and Scotl. vol. iii. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. Neal's Hist.
 (5) Anderson's Royal General, quoted by Curry, vol. ii. p. 11. (6) Ibid. p. 63. (7) Neal's Hist. of Churches (8) Lord Castlemain's Catholic Apology.

longed to Catholics. Add to this, that they were chiefly instrumental in saving Charles II. after his defeat at Worcester: they had, consequently, reason to expect that the Restoration of the king and constitution would have brought an alleviation if not an end of their sufferings. But the contrary proved to be the case: for then all parties seemed to have combined to make them the common object of their persecuting spirit and fury. In proof of this, I need allege nothing more than that two different parliaments *voted the reality of Oates's plot!* and that eighteen innocent and loyal Catholics, one of them a peer, suffered the death of traitors on account of it: to say nothing of the seven other priests, who, about that time, were hanged and quartered for the mere exercise of their priestly functions. Among the absurdities of that sanguinary plot, such as those of shooting the king with silver bullets, and invading the island with an army of pilgrims from Compostella, &c. (1) it was not the least to pretend that the Catholics wished to kill the king at all; that king whom they had heretofore saved in Staffordshire, and whom they well knew to be secretly devoted to their religion. But any pretext was good which would serve the purposes of a persecuting faction. These purposes were to exclude Catholics not only from the throne, but also from the smallest degree of political power down to that of a constable; and to shut the doors of both houses of parliament against them. The faction succeeded in its first design by *the test act*, and in its second by the act requiring *the declaration against Popery*; both obtained at a period of national delirium and fury. What the spirit of the clergy was at that time, with respect to the oppressed Catholics, appeared at their solemn processions at sir Edmundbury Godfrey's funeral, (2) and still appears in the three folio volumes of invective and misrepresentation then published under the title of *A Preservative against Popery*. On the other hand, such was the unchristian hatred of the Dissenters against the Catholics, that they promoted the test act with all their power, (3) though no less injurious to themselves than to the Catholics; and on every occasion they refused a toleration which might extend to the latter. (4) There is no need of bringing down the history of persecution in this country to a later period than the Revolution, at which time, as I observed before, a Catholic king was deposed because he would not be a persecutor.

(1) Echard Hist. (2) North's Exam. Echard. (3) Néal's Hist. of Puritan's vol. iv. Hist. of Churches, vol. iii. (4) Ibid.

Suffice it to say, that the number of the penal laws against the professors of the ancient religion and founders of the constitution of this country, continued to increase in every reign till that of George III. In the course of this reign most of the old persecuting laws have been repealed, but the two last-mentioned, enacted in a moment of delirium, which Hume represents as our greatest national disgrace, I mean the impracticable *test act* and the unintelligible *declaration against Popery*, are rigidly adhered to under two groundless pretexts.* The first of these is, that they are *necessary for the support of the established church*: and yet it is undeniable, that this church had maintained its ground, and had flourished much more during the period which preceded those laws, than it has ever done since that event. The second pretext is, that the withholding of honours and emoluments *is not persecution*. On this point, let a Protestant dignitary of first-rate talents be heard: "We agree that persecution, merely for conscience sake, is against the genius of the gospel: and so is any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights which they claim as men. We are also ready to allow that the smallest negative discouragements, for uniformity's sake, are so many persecutions. An incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge or a colonel, merely on point of conscience, is a negative discouragement, and consequently a real persecution," &c. (1) In the present case, however, the persecution which Catholics suffer from the disabilities in question, does not consist so much in their being deprived of those common privileges and advantages, as in their being *held out by the legislature as unworthy of them*, and thus being reduced to the condition of an *inferior cast* in their own country, the country of freedom this they deeply feel, and cannot help feeling.

V. But to return to my subject: I presume, that if the facts and reflections which I have stated in this letter had occurred to the right reverend prelates mentioned at the beginning of it, they would have lowered, if not quite altered, their tone on the present subject. The bishop of London would not have charged Catholics with claiming a right to

* Since the venerable and illustrious author wrote this letter, namely, in the year 1829, the *test act* was partially repealed, and Catholics are now admissible to parliament, and all civil offices of the state, with the exception of Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and High Commissioner of Scotland, on taking an oath of abjuration and promising to observe certain conditions therein specified.—EDIT.

(1) Dean Swift's works, vol. viii, p. 55.

punish those whom they call heretics, "with penalties, imprisonment, tortures, and death:" nor would the bishop of Lincoln have laid down "toleration as a mark of the true church, and as a principle, recommended by the most eminent reformers and (Protestant) divines." At all events, I promise myself, that a due consideration of the points here suggested, will efface the remaining prejudices of certain persons belonging to your society against the Catholic Church, on the score of her alleged "spirit of persecution, and of her supposed claim to punish the errors of the mind with fire and sword." They must have seen that she does not claim, but that, in her very general councils, she has disclaimed all power of this nature; and that, in pronouncing those to be obstinate heretics, whom she finds to be such, she always pleads for mercy in their behalf, when they are liable to severe punishment from the secular power: a conduct which many eminent Protestant churchmen were far from imitating in similar circumstances. They must have seen, moreover, that if persecuting laws have been made and acted upon by the princes and magistrates in many Catholic countries, the same conduct has been uniformly practised in every country, from the Alps to the Arctic circle, in which Protestants of any description have acquired the power of so doing. But if, after all, the friends alluded to should not admit of any material difference on the one side or on the other in this matter, I will here point out to them two discriminating circumstances of such weight as must at once decide the question about persecution in disfavour of Protestants.

In the first place, when Catholic states and princes have persecuted Protestants, it was done in favour of *an ancient religion*, which had been established in their country perhaps a thousand or fifteen hundred years, and which had long preserved the peace, order, and morality of their respective subjects: and when, at the same time, they clearly saw that any attempt to alter this religion would unavoidably produce incalculable disorders and sanguinary contests among them. On the other hand, Protestants every where persecuted in behalf of *new systems*, in opposition to the established laws of the Church and of the respective states. Not content with vindicating their own freedom of worship, they endeavoured, in each country, by persecution, to force the professors of the old religion to abandon it and adopt theirs; and they acted in the same way by their fellow Protestants, who had adopted opinions different from their own. In many countries where

Calvinism got a-head, as in Scotland, in Holland, at Geneva, and in France, it was by riotous mobs, which, under the direction of their pastors, rose in rebellion against their lawful princes, and having secured their independence, proceeded to sanguinary extremities against the Catholics.

In the second place, if Catholic states and princes have enforced submission to the Church by persecution, they were fully persuaded that there is *a divine authority in the Church to decide in all controversies of religion*, and that those Christians who refuse to hear her voice, when she pronounces upon them, are obstinate heretics. But on what grounds can Protestants persecute Christians of any description whatsoever? The grand rule and fundamental charter is, that the *scriptures were given by God for every man to interpret them as he judges best*. If, therefore, when I hear Christ declaring, *take ye and eat, this is my body*, I believe what he says, with what consistency can any Protestant require me, by pains or penalties, to swear that I do not believe it, and that to act conformably with this persuasion is idolatry? But religious persecution, which is every where odious, will not much longer find refuge in the most generous of nations: much less will the many victorious arguments which demonstrate the true Church of Christ, our common mother, who reclaimed us all from the barbarous rites of Paganism, be defeated by the calumnious outcry that she herself is a bloody Moloch that requires human victims.

I am, &c.

JOHN MILNER.

GRIER'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

LETTER LXVII.—To JAMES BROWN, Jun. Esq.

DEAR SIR,—In attacking my letter, on this subject, the vicar has, according to his usual method, misrepresented both the nature and the object of it. It is very remote from the author's disposition to delight in scenes of cruelty, and therefore it is a calumny to say of him, as the vicar does, that he treats with more "*than ordinary satisfaction* of religious persecution, and of fires, stakes, fagots, axes, knives, halters, gibbets, racks and tortures." The fact is, that having to answer bishop Porteus, and a whole host of his associate controvertists and preachers, whose customary and most popular

argument against the Catholic religion is to represent it as a sanguinary system, that persecutes upon principle, concealing in the mean time the persecutions of Protestants against Catholics, and against one another, in these circumstances there appeared to be but one effectual method of stopping the pens and the mouths of these inflammatory writers and declaimers, which consisted in proving to them that persecution has been more extensively and cruelly exercised by Protestants against Catholics, than by Catholics against Protestants. Accordingly, I adopted this method, both in *The Letters to a Prebendary* and in my letters to you, not from any *satisfaction* I felt in treating of those melancholy subjects, but from "a wish to cut off one of the most virulent sources of religious acrimony, and promoting conciliation and peace," between the contending parties, as I signified on both those occasions. Nor does it seem that the method was unsuccessful, either with Dr. Sturges, or with the present defender of Dr. Porteus: for certainly I cannot attribute to any other cause than the demonstrative proofs I brought of the persecuting principles and practices of Protestants of every denomination, in every country in which they have obtained an ascendancy, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that the vicar expresses a willingness "to draw a veil over the disgusting subject" of persecution. I agree to the proposal, whatever may be his motive for making it; still reserving to myself, however, the right of refuting some very acrimonious and false charges against me and the cause I defend, which he brings in the very act of professing his wish to "cultivate the feelings of mutual charity and forbearance."

The vicar reproaches me with not having mentioned, in my letter on Persecution, "the intolerance of Charles IX. and Lewis XIV. or the bloody tribunals of the duke of Alva." The cause is, my subject did not lead me to speak of these, but rather of the persecutions which Catholics had endured at the hands of Protestants, for the purpose, as I expressed, of balancing the account of bloodshed between the two parties, and of closing it for ever. And though I have not expressly treated of these subjects in my letter, I have there referred to my former work, *The Letters to a Prebendary*, where they are, each of them, discussed at considerable length. The vicar adds: "When speaking of queen Elizabeth, he (Dr. Milner) details with circumstantial minuteness the cruelties she inflicted on two hundred Catholics, whom she got hanged, drawn, and quartered, for the mere exercise of the religion of their ancestors." although he is conscious

that those persons suffered, "not because of their belief in Popish doctrines, but because their zeal to restore Popery led them to rebel against her government." Foul calumniator! so far from being *conscious* of this, I have proved the contrary from the confessions and conduct of the conscientious and loyal sufferers in question, (1) from the tenor of the different acts of parliament and proclamations which took place in that reign, (2) and from the acknowledgment of that unfeeling queen herself, as reported by her bribed historian. (3)

The vicar now passes to political subjects, in which, however, he does not seem to be better versed than in those of theology. I mentioned that unparalleled machination of villany and absurdity, hatched by lord Shaftesbury and the doctors Tongue and Oates, against the whole Catholic body, and which actually spilt the blood of lord Stafford and eighteen other loyal Catholics; and I shewed that one effect of the national delirium, produced by this plot, was the passing of the *impracticable Test Act*, and the *unintelligible Declaration against Popery*. Now the vicar, instead of vindicating the character of those his heroes, or the reality of their plot, asserts, on the bare authority of *his own word*, that "were it not for those impregnable barriers," as he calls them, "there would be no established church to defend." He then goes on to remind the distinguished advocates of Popish aggrandizement, who have joined Dr. Milner in denouncing the parliamentary *Declaration against Popery* as *unnecessary*, of certain passages in the homilies, articles, and rubricks, which describe the Catholic religion as superstitious, false, and idolatrous. Just as if the abolition of the test and the declaration, before the existence of which the established church flourished much more than it has done since, were the abolition of this church itself! With equal force of argument, the vicar states the opposition of Catholics to *the veto*, and the publication of certain Catholic works of controversy; and lastly, the present pope's reprobation of mixed mar-

(1) See the genuine history of all the plots, real or fabricated, during Elizabeth's reign, in *Letters to a Prebendary*, Letter vi. N. B. In the above list of two hundred sufferers for their religion, John Felton, who denied Elizabeth's title to the throne, and Babington, Ballard, &c. implicated in a real conspiracy, are not included. (2) 1 Eliz. c. i. 5 Eliz. c. i. 13 Eliz. c. ii. 23 Eliz. c. i. &c. (3) Camden testifies of her as follows:

"Plerosque ex misellis his Sacerdotibus exitii in patriam conflandi conscios fuisse non credidit. Importunis precibus evicta permisit ut Edmundus Campanus &c. iudicio sisterentur." *Annales, Eliz. Anno 1581.*

riages between Catholics and Protestants, as so many arguments against the abolition of the acts grounded on Oates's plot! With respect to the *Test Act* in particular, I pronounced it *impracticable*, and therefore no barrier to the established church. In fact, it no sooner passed than the dissenters eluded it by means of occasional conformity; and accordingly, the army, the navy, the corporations, and the ministry itself, have ever since been indiscriminately filled with them. (1) On the other hand, a practical dispensation from the test, by an annual act for this purpose, is found to be necessary with respect to the members of the established church themselves (not one in a thousand of whom ever take it), to prevent the dissolution of the army and navy. I quoted Swift, as asserting that *a disqualifying law on account of religion* is a degree of *religious persecution*. The vicar answers me with copious citations from him against both Catholics and Dissenters. But, once more I say, it is not my business, nor is it in my power, to make Protestant writers consistent with themselves. We all know, for example, how pointedly Swift ridiculed the differences between the established church and the dissenters, in his account of the two nations that went to war with each other about the practice of breaking their eggs at the *big end* or the *little end*: yet with all his keen sarcasm on both the *big-endians* and the *little-endians*, he is proved to be as violent a big-endian as the most zealous of his nation.

Instead then of buttressing up those disgraceful monuments of England's phrenzy, as "the barriers of the established church," let the rev. vicar devise some means, if he can, of causing all his brethren to believe and support the articles of their own church, especially the fundamental articles of our common christianity, the *trinity* and the *incarnation*; and next, let him exert himself in stopping the course of that *bibliomania*, which is evidently and rapidly sapping its foundations. Lastly, as far as he dreads the influence of the Catholic religion, persuaded as he is of the victorious nature of his *reply*, let him engage his patrons (instead of endeavouring to suppress the present work, as they did the *Letters to a Prebendary*) to get it, or else *The End of Controversy*, printed and published in parallel letters with it: for

(1) It is credibly reported that George III. having asked his minister, the great Henry Dundas, whether he had qualified himself for office, as a member of the Church of England? He answered, that he was a *deacon* of the Church of Scotland, and ever would remain so.

what chance has ignorance in a combat with truth; bigotry with reasoning; idolatry and blasphemy with pure Christianity! I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

CLERICAL CONTINENCY.

LETTER LXVIII.—To JAMES BROWN, Jun. Esq.

DEAR SIR,—BEFORE the closing of what the vicar calls a reply, he is pleased to start a fresh subject of debate, which is not treated of in my letters. True it is, that their author, in speaking of the still remaining errors in the common bible, mentions the words of our Saviour in commendation of continence: *Ου παντες χωρουσι λογον τουτου: all men DO NOT receive this saying*, Matt. xix. 11, which he maintained were erroneously translated, *All men CANNOT receive this saying*, by Luther, Tyndal, Coverdale, and Cranmer, in excuse for their common violation of the law of continence, by which they were bound. (1) It is also true that the author, in mentioning this error, has stated that “the Rev. Mr. Grier and Dr. Ryan have the confidence to deny this and another glaring error, where AND is placed for OR; 1 Cor. xi. 27, because they pretend to prove that the *cup is necessary*, and that *continence is not necessary*.” The vicar’s pretence that DO NOT and CANNOT mean the same thing is a perversion of language and common sense, which is only heightened by his attempt to excuse it where he denies that “continence proceeds from man’s free will,” because, says he, “it were superfluous for the best men to ask it as a divine favour, if they could impart it to themselves.” I do not stop to draw the conclusions which follow from these alarming principles of the vicar. Let it suffice to say, that they are the same with, or nearly allied to, those of his parent reformer quoted above.

(1) The first-mentioned reformer, and the father of the rest, Luther, was not ashamed to preach as follows: “As it is not in my power to cease to be a man, so it is not in my power to be without a woman; it is as necessary as to eat, drink, blow the nose, &c. Serm. de Matrim. tom. v. Wittemb. “He that resolves to be without a woman, let him lay aside the nature of a man and make himself an angel or spirit.” Epist. ad Wolfgang. And yet he elsewhere acknowledges that when he was a Canon and lived in his monastery he observed chastity, punishing his body with watching, fasting, and prayer. Luth. in Ep. Ad. Galat.

To answer the vicar on a new subject which he has studiously perplexed, it is necessary to make various distinctions. First, then, the Catholic Church teaches, after the apostle, that *marriage is honourable in all*; namely, in all who are free to marry: and accordingly she ranks it among her sacraments, and holds it to be absolutely indissoluble, except by death; but then, secondly, she also teaches, with the same apostle, that there are some persons who are not free to marry: namely, those who have voluntarily vowed continency: of whom the apostle pronounces, *when they have grown wanton in Christ, they will marry, having damnation, because they have made void their first faith.* 1 Tim. v. 12. Thirdly, believing, as she does, still following St. Paul, that the state of virginity is more perfect than the married state, inasmuch as *he, who is with a wife, is solicitous for the things of the world and is divided*; while *he that is unmarried is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord*, 1 Cor. vii she prefers the latter to the former, in enlisting recruits for her sacred ministry, the wisdom of which choice she has ever experienced, (1) and even her declared adversaries have sometimes acknowledged. (2) Fourthly, though some few instances occur in certain times and places of clergymen being allowed, in the Latin church, to retain the wives they had married before their ordination, yet no instance occurs, either in the Latin or in the Greek church, of a clergyman, in the higher orders, being allowed to marry *after* his consecration or ordination, and to continue exercising his ministry. It seems unnecessary to observe, that these restrictions upon matrimony do not regard the Protestant clergy, as they have neither taken upon themselves the vow or obligations of celibacy, nor does their church impose it upon them.

Having *disposed* of these matters, to use the vicar's phrase, I proceed to inquire into the origin which he is pleased to assign to clerical celibacy, in doing which I should be glad to know which of the accusations he considers the lighter, *gross ignorance of church history and the canon laws, or*

(1) See Letters to a Prebend. Letter III. (2) The first Act of Parliament, which authorized the marriage of clergymen in this kingdom, acknowledged what follows: "It were not only better for the estimation of priests and other ministers to live chaste, sole, and separately from the company of women, and the bond of marriage, but also that they might thereby the better intend to the administration of the gospel, and be the less intricated and troubled with the charge of household, &c." 2 Edw. VI. c. 21.

wilful misrepresentation of them, in order that I may shape my charge conformably with it. To be brief, the origin which he assigns to clerical celibacy, and the conclusion which he draws from his dissertation upon it, to use his own words, is this: "If we must determine the origin of this *innovation*, we shall have to trace it to the monkery of the dark ages. To the ambitious Hildebrand, Gregory VII, are we to attribute its establishment. Indeed, to such a man could it alone belong to subject the Church to the see of Rome," &c. It is to be observed, that this great and good pontiff, the scourge of simony and incontinence, was elected in 1073, and died in 1085: it now remains to be discussed between the vicar and me, whether the Church laws, requiring the clergy to lead a single life, are or are not anterior to the former year, or whether they were then, for the first time, enacted? In support of this theory the vicar urges, first, that St. Peter was a married man, because mention is made by St. Matthew of his wife's mother. This is true: but, if the wife was living when St. Peter was called to the apostleship, he had left her, since he was enabled to tell his master *Behold we have left all things and followed thee*: which conduct, in *leaving his wife*, among other things, to follow him, Christ approves of in his answer to St. Peter: *Every one that hath left house, or brethren, or WIFE, for my sake, shall receive a hundred fold.* Matt. xix. 29. In short, we are expressly told by St. Jerom, the best informed of the apostolic biographers, that those apostles who had wives before their call, lived apart from them afterwards. (1) The vicar argues, secondly, that St. Patrick's father Calphurnius, was a deacon, and his grandfather a priest. I have elsewhere shewn, that Calphurnius and his wife separated by mutual consent, *for the sake of leading a chaste life* (1) But if he and his father Potitus had cohabited with their wives till their dissolution, what would this prove against the law of clerical celibacy, unless it were shewn that they acted conformably with Catholic discipline? The same observation is applicable to the vicar's third argument for the lawfulness of bishops and priests marrying in the ancient Church, viz. that Gildas, lamenting the vices of his native clergy in the sixth century, said, that "some of the bishops not content with one wife, had many wives," and that "the British and Welsh clergy, in the twelfth century, contrived to make their sons succeed them

(1) St. Hieron. Ep. 50. (2) An Inquiry into Vulgar Errors concerning Ireland. p. 172, 2d edit.

as well in their spiritual as in their temporal estates;" and, finally, that in the beginning of the thirteenth century the *abuse prevailed* to a greater degree in Ireland. "Here," continues the vicar, "is a mass of testimony, to prove that although that imperious pontiff, Gregory VII. had subjected the Church to the papal see, by enforcing the celibacy of the clergy on the Continent, yet that for upwards of a century after his time, sons and grandchildren used to succeed their fathers and grandfathers in their ecclesiastical benefices in these islands." Such is the vicar's mass of testimony (for literally he says nothing more than this) to prove that "the origin of the innovation (clerical celibacy) is traced to the monkery of the dark ages," and that "to the ambitious Hildebrand, Gregory VII, are we to attribute its establishment." With as good reason might any writer produce the Newgate calendar, to prove that robbery and forgery are now lawful.

In opposition to this alleged mass of evidence, I will place, in the most contracted form I can, some few of the proofs I have elsewhere brought, that clerical celibacy was the general law of the Church in all ages. The second council of Carthage, held in 428, refers the establishment of this law to the *Apostles* themselves, in confirming the decree that "all bishops, priests, and deacons, shall abstain from marriage." (1) The same is the ordinance of the other councils referred to below. Origen says, that "it belongs to him alone to offer sacrifice, who has devoted himself to unceasing and perpetual chastity." (2) Venerable Bede says the same thing, arguing from the temporary continency of the Levitical priests, for the necessity of perpetual continency in the Christian priesthood. (3) St. Jerom testifies that in the three great patriarchates of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, no persons were received among the clergy but such as were single men, or who were entirely separated from their wives. (4) The learned Church historian, Fleury, says, that the first instance he had been able to discover of a Catholic priest's pretending to marry was

(1) "Ut quod Apostoli docuerunt et ipsa servavit antiquitas omnibus placet ut Episcopi, Presbyteri Diaconi etiam ab uxoribus contineant." II Carthag. can. 3, Labb. Concil. t. II. p. 1052. See also Concil. Illiberit. can. 33; I Concil. Nicen. can. 3; II Concil. Arelat. can. 2. See also the decrees of the Council of London, over which archbishop Plegmund presided, in 994. apud. Spelman. See also the second decree of the Council of Entram, A. D. 1009; Labb. t. ix. p. 797. See likewise the fifteenth chapter of the Council of Winchester, Labbe, t. x. p. 312. (2) Orig. Homil. xxiii. in num (3) Bed. in Luc. c. 1. (4) Advers. Vigilant. Testimonies to the same purport can be produced from a long list of other fathers.

that of Angelric, a priest of Chalons, in the year 893; but that the people proceeded to acts of violence against him, and the bishop excommunicated him for so doing. (1)

Is it possible that the vicar should have been ignorant of all this doctrine of the fathers, and of all these canons of the councils, when he wrote that "the origin of this innovation (clerical celibacy) is to be attributed to the monkery of the dark ages, and the ambition of Gregory VII.?" And yet he must stand charged with this gross ignorance, or with a fouler stain, that of publishing a known falsehood. Let us now hear the vicar's *conjectures*, on which he builds his revolting falsehood, of pope Gregory VII. being the author of clerical celibacy, in place of *authorities* to which, indeed, he does not lay any pretension. He says: "to such a man, Gregory VII. could it alone belong to subject the Church to the see of Rome, and then to compel temporal princes to submit to the Church. We know, gigantic as the enterprize was, how successfully it was executed. By emancipating the Church from the temporal power, this haughty pontiff was enabled to destroy the dependence of the ecclesiastics on their respective sovereigns. To no purpose did the German and French bishops denounce the papal decree, as requiring what was repugnant to the word of God and the doctrine of the apostles. In vain did they urge their liability to the same temptations and infirmities as other men: Gregory was inflexible," &c. What a mass of groundless imaginations have we here! William the Conqueror, who reigned at this time, was so far from finding his power infringed by the observance of clerical celibacy, that he strongly supported it, as appears by the acts of different councils in his dominions, both in England and on the Continent, and by the testimony of the pope himself. (2) The emperor Henry IV. though he strongly contested with Gregory the decree of the Roman council against simony, did not object to that respecting the continence of the superior clergy. On the other hand, the pope, in his letters on this subject to the emperor and the different bishops, so far from professing to introduce an innovation in this matter, every where appeals to the decrees of the ancient councils and fathers, and to the known laws of the Church concerning it. (3) Nor is there more truth in what the vicar says about

(1) Hist. Eccl. l. 54. (2) Epist. l. ix. Ep. 5. (3) Writing to the emperor Henry IV. concerning the council he held at Rome against simony and incontinency in clergymen, the pope says, "Nihil novi, nihil ad conventionem nostram statuentes, sed primam et unam Ecclesiasticam dis-

the German and French bishops "denouncing the papal decree to be contrary to the word of God," &c.; so far from this, those bishops held synods at Erford, Poitiers, Winchester, and other places, to enforce the decree of that held in Rome in 1074, on this matter, against the *concubinary priests* in their respective diocesses.

I am, &c. JOHN MILNER.

CONCLUSION.

LETTER LXIX.—*To the FRIENDLY SOCIETY of NEW COTTAGE.*

MY FRIENDS AND BRETHREN IN CHRIST,—Having, at length, in the several letters addressed to your worthy president, Mr. Brown, and others of your society, completed the task which eight months ago you imposed upon me; I address this my concluding letter to you in common, as a slight review of the whole. I observed to you, that to succeed in any inquiry, it is necessary to know and to follow the right method of making it. Hence, I entered upon the present search after the truth of the Christian revelation, with a discussion of the rules or methods followed for this purpose by different classes of Christians. Having taken for granted the following maxims,—that *Christ has appointed some rule or method of learning his revelation*;—that this rule must be *an unerring one*; and that it must be *adapted to the capacities and situations of mankind* in general;—I proceeded to shew that a supposed *private spirit*, or particular inspiration, is not that rule; because this persuasion has led numberless fanatics, in every age since that of Christ, into the depths of error, folly, and wickedness of every kind. I proved in the second place, that the *written word or scripture*, according to each one's conception of its meaning, is not that rule; because it is not adapted to the capacities and situations of the bulk of mankind; a great proportion of them not being able to read the scripture, and much less to form a connected sense of a single chapter of it; and, because innumerable Christians have, at all times, by following this presumptuous method, given into heresies, impieties, contradictions, and

ciplinæ regulam et tritam sanctorum viam, relicto errore, repetendam et sectandam esse censuimus." Labbe, t. x. p. 138.

crimes, almost as numerous and flagrant as those of the abovementioned fanatics. Finally, I demonstrated, that there is a twofold word of God, the *unwritten* and the *written*, that the former was appointed by Christ, and made use of by the apostles, for converting nations; and that it was not made void by the inspired epistles and gospels, which some of the apostles and the evangelists addressed, for the most part, to particular churches or individuals; that the Catholic Church is the divinely commissioned *guardian* and *interpreter* of the word of God in both its parts; and that, therefore, the method appointed by Christ for learning what he has taught on the various articles of his religion, is to HEAR THE CHURCH propounding them to us from the *whole* of his rule. This method I have shewn continued to be pointed out by the fathers and doctors of the Church, in constant succession, and that it is the only one which is adapted to the circumstances of mankind in general; the only one which leads to the peace and unity of the Christian Church; and the only one which affords tranquillity and security to individual Christians during life, and at the trying hour of their dissolution.

At this point my labours might have ended, as the Catholic Church alone follows the right rule, and the right rule infallibly leads to the Catholic Church. But since bishop Porteus and other Protestant controvertists raise cavils as to which is the true Church: and whereas this is a question that admits of a still more easy and more triumphant answer, than that concerning the right rule of faith, I have made it the subject of a second series of letters, with which I flatter myself the greater part of you are acquainted. In fact, no inquiry is so easy to an attentive and upright Christian, as that which leads to the discovery of the true Church of Christ; because, on one hand, all Christians agree in their common creed concerning the *characters* or *marks* which she bears; and because, on the other hand, these marks are of an exterior and splendid kind, such as require no extensive learning or abilities, and little more than the use of our senses and common reason to discern them. In short, among the numerous and jarring societies of Christians (all pretending to have found out the truths of revelation), to ascertain which is the true Church of Christ that infallibly possesses them, we have only to observe which among them is distinctly ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, and APOSTOLICAL, and the discovery is made. In treating of these characters or marks, I said it was obvious to every beholder, that there

is no bond of union whatever among the different societies of Protestants; and that no articles, canons, oaths, or laws, have the force of confining the members of any one of them, as experience shews, to a uniformity of belief, or even profession, in a single kingdom or island; while the great Catholic Church, spread as it is over the face of the globe, and consisting, as it does, *of all nations, and tribes, and people, and tongues*, is strictly united in the same *faith*, the same *sacraments*, and the same *church-government*; in short, that it demonstratively exhibits the first mark of the true Church, *unity*. With respect to the second mark, *sanctity*, I shewed that she alone teaches and enforces the *whole doctrine* of the gospel; that she is the mother of all saints, acknowledged as such by Protestants themselves; that she possesses many *means* of attaining to sanctity which the latter disclaim; and that God himself attests the truth of this Church by the miracles with which from time to time he illustrates her exclusively. And whereas many eminent Protestant writers have charged the Catholics with deception and forgery on this head, I have unanswerably retorted the charge upon themselves. No words were wanting to shew that the *Catholic Church* bears the glorious name of CATHOLIC, and very few to demonstrate that she is *Catholic* or *Universal*, with respect both to place and time, and that she is also *Apostolical*. The latter point, however, I exhibited in a more evident and sensible manner, by means of a sketch of an *Apostolical Tree*, or Genealogical Table of the Church, which I sent you, shewing the succession of her pontiffs, her most eminent bishops, doctors, and saints, as also that of the most notorious heretics and schismatics, who have been lopped off from this tree in every age from that of the apostles down to the present. "No church but the Catholic, can exhibit any thing of this kind," as Tertullian reproached the seceders of his time. Under this head you must have observed, in particular, the want of an apostolical succession of ministry, under which I shewed that all the Protestant societies labour; and their want of success in attempting the work of the apostles, the conversion of Pagan nations.

The second part of my work thus shews an easier and more familiar way of arriving at the *end of religious controversy*, than that of investigating *the right rule of faith*, namely, that of attending to *the marks of the true Church*, as they are acknowledged by Protestants, no less than by Catholics, in *the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds*, which marks I enlarged upon, and applied to the communions in question.

Of these, the Rev. Mr. Grier only contests those of *Unity* and *Catholicity*. He makes no pretensions to the existence of any kind of unity among Protestants, but contents himself with denying this mark to the Catholics, on account of the schisms which have sometimes heretofore existed between rival pontiffs and their adherents. Of the other mark, *Catholicity*, I shall say a few more words, after observing that the bulk of the vicar's letters is levelled at the third part of mine, which third part I professed to write, *ex abundanti*, as the term is, in as much as the question at issue, among the rival communions, is decided in the two former parts. In short, the vicar rehearses once more, the old misrepresentations and impieties against the Catholic tenets, which have been echoed from Luther and Calvin, to Jewel and Claude, and from these to Tillotson and Porteus, being the same which have, each time, been repelled and refuted by Bellarmin and Perron, by Bossuet and Arnauld, by Hawarden and Challoner, and last of all by the writer of these letters.

The vicar's last and desponding effort consists of an attempt to prove that **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH is not the Catholic Church, and ought not to be called the Catholic Church.** To make out this, he quotes one *Shoel's Tableau* from an Irish newspaper, which states, that "the Catholics are to the Protestants of different communions, in the ratio of somewhat less than two and a half to two." (1) But to what purpose do Shoel and the vicar crowd together religionists of the most discordant creeds and discipline. Socinians, Arians, Anabaptists, Quakers, Harnhutters, Dunkers, Shakers, Ranters, Antinomians, Swedenborgians, Joannites, and fifty sects over and above those that are enumerated by Evans and Bellamy; (2) to what purpose, I say, does he cite

(1) The vicar's lengthened appeal to the "pure and ancient Syrian (Eutyehian) churches in India, of apostolic origin," &c. is fatal to his cause, as they agree with the great Catholic Church in every thing, except in acknowledging the pope's supremacy, and in confounding Christ's human with his divine nature, for which all Protestants, who know any thing of the matter, condemn them equally with the Catholics. When the vicar denies that "Dr. Buchanan was jealous of the number of Catholics in India, he refutes himself, in as much as he acknowledges that the doctor's object was to secure the co-operation of the Syrian church, in order to counteract the influence of the see of Rome, and to effect an union of that church with the church of England," in both which points he completely failed. (2) Among these, some sects expressly deny the necessity of baptism, as well as the eucharist; others, as the Antinomians, or rigid Methodists, deny they are under any obligation of keeping the ten commandments, or the laws of the state. The Harnhutters or Moravians reject prayer, acts of charity, and other good works, as not at all

them, if, so far from one of them vying with the original Church in numbers, duration, or extent, they are not, when all put together, any way equal to it in *number*, and much less in either of the other particulars. Nor is this all that is to be taken into consideration in the present comparison. In a word, the Catholics throughout the world are strictly united in one and the same religion. Consisting, as they do, of so many hundreds of millions of persons, spread over the face of the globe, they all believe the *same articles of faith*, they all worship God by *the same liturgy* of the Mass, and the seven sacraments; and they are all obedient to the *same ecclesiastical authority*. On the other hand, to view the most respectable and orderly society of those who have separated themselves from the *centre of unity*, how difficult is it to find two well instructed persons, professing themselves members of it, who agree together in its fundamental articles! Where shall we find one such, among its very heads, who professes to believe strictly in a creed (the Athanasian) which he is required solemnly to pronounce before God and man thirteen times in a year. It is notorious that the persons alluded to are *not agreed as to the very Deity they worship*; and that one party of them consider the other party of their fellow churchmen and kirkmen as *idolaters* and *blasphemers*, for paying *supreme worship to Jesus Christ, as God*. while the latter party regard the former as *apostates* and *anti-christians*, for refusing him this supreme adoration! And are these religionists members of the same church, though they meet together within the same walls, to repeat the same forms of prayer? And will any one, with these notorious facts before his eyes, lay claim to *catholicity* in favour even of the most respectable and best denomination of Protestants? Then with respect to the worship of the latter, how comparatively small is the number of those who approach to that ordinance, which they profess to believe is "generally necessary to salvation!"

But to return to the contemplation of the Catholic Church; as it is not in the power of the vicar, nor of all the above-named sectaries put together, to deprive her of her right to that glorious name of CATHOLIC or *Universal*, by which she has been distinguished from the followers of particular men, and the religionists of particular countries, in every age and in every place, so it is in vain that he spends his breath and

useful to salvation. The Joannites hold, that Joanna Southcote was as necessary for the above-mentioned purpose as Christ himself.

his ink in idle protestations against the *arbitrary* application of a name, which can only belong to one Church, namely, to that which alone is *Catholic* or *Universal*. The great St. Augustin said above fourteen centuries ago: "Among other things which keep me in the bosom of the Catholic Church—the very name of CATHOLIC, which, amidst so many heresies, this Church alone possesses, keeps me there." Similar are the testimonies of SS. Justin, Cyril, Pacien, Salvian, and the fathers in general: these cannot be effaced or denied, however grating they are to the ears of the reverend vicar. In like manner, it is vain in him to sneer at, unless he can answer, the challenge of the learned convert Dr. Bayly, son of the bishop of Bangor, who having called in vain upon his Protestant adversaries to name the time and the place, the means and the other circumstances of the pretended change of the Protestant into the Catholic religion, very justly observes that this change could not have happened in any age since that of the apostles, except by many millions of Christians throughout the world going to bed one night with one set of religious principles, and awaking the next morning with different and even opposite principles. For if the alleged change had taken place by degrees, as the vicar insinuates, violent dissensions and commotions must have ensued between those who retained one religion and those who embraced the other, as happened at the period of the Reformation, so called. The impossibility of the alleged change, at least between the fifth century and the sixteenth, is farther demonstrated by the striking circumstance that the Nestorians and the Eutychians, possessing large and flourishing bishoprics and patriarchates throughout Asia and the northern and eastern parts of Africa, comprehending also the vicar's "pure apostolical Syrian churches on the Malabar coast," broke off from the great Catholic Church on opposite principles in the middle of the fifth century; and yet they continue to profess transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the Mass, the seven sacraments, the invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead, as firmly as Catholics do. After shewing when, where, and how Catholics changed their religion, it will remain for the vicar to shew how these millions of hostile Nestorians and Eutychians altered theirs. In a word, there is no way whatsoever of accounting for this but by supposing that all the members of these opposite heresies slept away their former religion on the same night that the Catholics did theirs.

The third series of my letters has been employed in tearing off the hideous mask with which calumny and misrepresentation has disfigured the fair face of Christ's true spouse, the Catholic Church. In this endeavour, I trust I have been completely successful, and that there is not one of your society who will any more reproach Catholics with being idolaters on account of their respect for the memorials of Christ and his saints, or of their desiring the prayers of the latter; or on account of the adoration they pay to the divine Jesus, hidden under the sacramental veils. Nor will they hereafter accuse us of purchasing, or otherwise procuring leave to commit sin, or the previous pardon of sins to be committed; or, in short, of perfidy, sedition, cruelty, or systematic wickedness of any kind. So far from this, I have reason to hope, that the view of the Church herself which I have exhibited to your society, instead of the caricature of her which Dr. Porteus and other bigoted controvertists have held up to the public, has produced a desire in several of them to return to the communion of this original Church, bearing, as she clearly does, all the marks of the true Church; gifted, as she manifestly is, with so many peculiar helps for salvation; and possessing the only safe and practicable rule for ascertaining the truths of revelation. The consideration which I understand has struck some of them in the most forcible manner, is that which I suggested from my own knowledge and experience, as well as from the observation of the eminent writers whom I have named; viz. that *no Catholic, at the near approach of death, is ever found desirous of dying in any other religion, while numbers of Protestants in that situation seek to be reconciled to the Catholic religion.*

Some of your number have said, that though they are of opinion that the Catholic religion is the true one, yet they have not that *evidence* of the fact which they think sufficient to justify a change in so important a point as that of religion. God forbid that I should advise any person to embrace the Catholic religion without having sufficient evidence of its truth: but I must remind the persons in question, that they have not a *metaphysical evidence* nor a *mathematical certainty* of the truth of Christianity in general. In fact, they have only a high *moral* evidence and certainty of this truth for, with all the miracles and other arguments by which Christ and his apostles proved this divine system, it was still a *stumbling block to the Jews, and folly to the Gentiles*; 1 Cor

i. 23 In short, according to the observation of St. Augustin, there is light enough in it to guide the sincere faithful, and obscurity enough to mislead perverse unbelievers; because, after all, faith is not merely a divine illustration of the understanding, but also a divine and yet voluntary motion of the will. Hence, if in travelling through this darksome vale, as Locke, I think, observes with respect to revelation in general, God is pleased to give us the light of the moon or of the stars, we are not to stand still on our journey, because he does not afford us the light of the sun. The same is to be said with respect to the evidence in favour of the Catholic religion: it is moral evidence of the first quality, far superior to that on which we manage our temporal affairs and guard our lives; and not in the least below that which exists for the truth of Christianity at large. At all events, it is wise to choose the *safer part*; and it would be madness to act otherwise, when eternity is at stake. The great advocates of Christianity, St. Augustin, Pascal, Abbadie, and others, argue thus in recommending it to us in preference to infidelity: now, the same argument evidently holds good for preferring the Catholic religion to every Protestant system. The most eminent Protestant divines, such as Luther, Melancthon, Hooker, Chillingworth, with the bishops Law, Taylor, Sheldon, Blandford, and the modern prelates Marsh and Porteus himself, all acknowledge that *salvation may be found in the communion of the original Catholic Church*: but no divine of this Church, consistently with her characteristical unity and the constant doctrine of the holy fathers and of the scripture itself, as I have elsewhere demonstrated, can allow that salvation is to be found out of this communion, except in the case of invincible ignorance.

It remains, my dear friends and brethren, for each of you to take his and her part: but remember that the part that you severally take is taken for ETERNITY! Therefore, if ever you ought to reflect and decide seriously and conscientiously, dismissing all worldly respects of whatever kind from your minds, it is on this occasion; for *what* exchange shall a man receive for his soul! (1) and what will the prejudiced opinion of your fellow-mortals avail you at the tribunal where we are all so soon to appear! and in the vast abyss of eternity in which we shall quickly be all engulfed! Will any of them plead your cause at the bar? Or will your punishment be

(1) Matt xvi. 26.

more tolerable from their sharing in it? Finally, with all the fervour and sincerity of your souls, beseech your future Judge, who is now your merciful Saviour, to bestow upon you that light to see your way, and that strength to follow it, which he merited for you, when he hung for three hours your agonizing Victim on the Cross.

Adieu, my dear friends and brethren: we shall soon meet together at the tribunal I have mentioned; and be assured that I look forward to that meeting with a perfect confidence, that you and I, and the great Judge himself, shall all concur in the advice I now give you.

I am, your's, &c.

JOHN MILNER, D. D

Wolverhampton, May 29, 1802.

THE END.